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MOSES AND THE MONUMENTS

LIGHT FROM ARCHAEOLOGY ON PENTATEUCHAL TIMES

THE L. P. STONE LECTURES
PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
1919

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TO

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INTRODUCTION

"Do you think I do not know my own stitches?" was the indignant remonstrance of a tailor to one who questioned his ability to identify his own work. A textile manufacturer who was walking with a friend through a great department store in a distant city suddenly exclaimed, as they passed a pile of table covers, "Oh, there are our damasks." Did not these men in reality speak for work of every kind and for workmen everywhere? Does not the product always bear the personal impress?

And may not others than the producer also learn to recognize the product? Upon such ability, in fact, rests all musical criticism, all art criticism, all literary criticism, that has to do with author and origin. In a junk shop in London an old violin was found. It represented but a few shillings among the merchandise of the place. But the musical instrument dealers examined it; the violinists played upon it; and together they pronounced it a Stradivarius and it was sold for $3,000. In the museum at the site of the old Olympian games stands in solitary state an almost perfect ancient marble statue of Hermes. It came from the ruins of Olympia; it represents the best age of Greek art; and the artists of the world have set it in its solitariness, where nothing else may stand beside it, as a genuine work of Praxiteles.

And shall the hand that carves the wood or wields the chisel leave more plainly the mark of its own individuality than the hand that uses the pen to register the mind and heart? Among the rubbish of an Egyptian refuse heap, kept through the ages by the sheltering drift of sand from the desert, a fragment of papyrus bearing ancient Greek literature was quickly identified as a lost play of Euripides. From the same heap of refuse were gathered many of an early collection of "sayings of Jesus" which Christian sentiment, that subtle, sensitive, critic of all Christian literature, quickly and uniformly, shall we not say infallibly, has separated into genuine "sayings of our Lord" and corrupt records of other sayings now lost. Thus, whether the hand carves the wood or wields the chisel or uses the pen, it leaves a recognizable impress upon the product.

Even the divine workman is discovered by his work. In fact, the greatest argument for God is man himself; *only God could have made him.* If we knew no God, we should have to suppose one, for everywhere we find his marks. Thus all along the line from stitches to statues, from damasks to discoveries, from the most trivial product of man to the greatest work of God, the product bears the mark, the recognizable mark, of its producer.

These many illustrations illumine the fact that "After its kind" is the far reaching law of production as well as of reproduction: in the latter case we call it heredity, in the former case, impress; in every

case, it is the producer's trade-mark. Something of one's individuality invariably, shall we not say inevitably, characterizes one's achievement; such characteristics are also recognizable, if but one be well enough informed. In the last analysis, in the broadest sense, it is found that *a* creator, as well as *the* Creator, makes things in his own image: everything that is the product of life bears something of the life and environment that produced it, something of both the molder and the mold; and such impress may be recognized.

So the product always reveals the source, if but we are able to read the marks upon it. The Pentateuch can be no exception, but most certainly bears the marks of its origin. The real internal evidence always does identify a document, if we are able to read the evidence aright. Wherever the Pentateuch came from, its provenance, whether naturalistic or revelatory, or both, or a development from within with an objective revelation added from without, will certainly be stamped on its face. "Made in the wilderness," "made in Palestine," "made in Babylonia," or "made in heaven" will be marked upon it. The light that enables us to read aright these marks is the light from archaeology on Pentateuchal times. The purpose of these lectures is, by this light, to read these marks.

The phrase, "Pentateuchal times," in the title of this course of lectures does not mean merely the time of the composition of the Pentateuch. The question of time is purely a chronological question;

the question of "times" embraces every question of historical provenance. Thus the discussion of Pentateuchal times requires us to consider not only the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, but the language in which it is written, its rhetorical and other literary characteristics, its historical statements and allusions, its symbolism which necessarily reflects that life experience of a people which supplies mental furniture, the great teachings either whose appearance or whose non-appearance is significant, and, last of all, its laws, especially all that elaborate system known as the Ceremonial Law.

Not every dark corner of this vast field of investigation is, as yet, illuminated by the results of archaeological investigation and discovery but some light already shines into every part of it. Sometimes the light is only a little ray that makes, in some dark corner, no more than a twilight in which it is impossible to see things clearly. We will keep out of such "twilight zones" and "walk in the light," where we will not receive vague impressions, but have clear vision.

LECTURE I

Light from Archaeology on Peculiar Words, Phrases, and Narratives in the Pentateuch

The subject of this first lecture, "Light on Peculiar words, Phrases and Narratives in the Pentateuch," opens at once vast possibilities of hazy indefiniteness. If one were to construct an argument around every hint in oriental literature of Bible lands, which, to the occidental mind, is replete with peculiarities, the whole discussion would degenerate into a great guess. Such microscopic study of atoms is the bane of the critic and may easily become the bane of the archaeologist. It is well ever to remember that only very small things may be seen by a high power microscope. Those who keep their eyes glued to the lens may not see really great things at all. While not neglecting to use the microscope, we will give most attention in this lecture to things which one might stumble over.

It is to be noted, also, in general, concerning the evidence to be examined, that it is of things of an incidental character, such incidental character, indeed, as to be beyond the reach of collusion. Most of the evidence to be introduced in all these lectures is of this character; the evidence in this first lecture is peculiarly so. I was once permitted

by the Bedouin of the Sinai Peninsula to visit their turquoise mines. They did not publicly, or officially, admit that they had any turquoise mines, as their work was illicit; but a little *backsheesh* and a good deal of assurance of good faith on the part of the visitor to the effect that he was not a government secret agent was able to persuade them to allow a simple archaeologist to see some things. There I saw how the beautiful blue gems are taken out of the solid rock, from the hiding-place to which nature gives no clue, and only patient perseverance can find. If the miners should exhibit a stone of marked peculiarities, saying it came from that mine, and then should produce a matrix in the broken rock into which every peculiarity of the gem exactly fitted, no amount of natural suspiciousness or scientific skepticism would avail one to resist the impression that the miners' story was true and that the gem did come from that very spot.

There are in the Pentateuch many peculiar words, phrases, and narratives, literary gems, so to speak, for which Egypt supplies the matrix, and which *whoever produced them attributes them to Egypt.* There are also in Egyptian literature words and phrases for which the Hebrew of the Pentateuch furnishes the matrix. Moreover, these various gems do not only fit the matrices merely like pebbles in a hole, but are each of such marked peculiarities, every feature of which exactly fits into some particularity of the matrix, as that the conclusion is irresistible that the gem and matrix belong to-

gether, and thus that the representations of the Pentateuchal literature concerning these Egyptian affiliations are true: true, also, not merely as historical fiction may be true, that constructs events and throws them back upon the screen of antiquity, but true as a narrative of facts.

Before considering the evidence to be presented, it is necessary to reckon with the much mooted question, Is the Hebrew of the Pentateuch and other early Old Testament books an original or a translation? If it is an original, there is, in that case, no difficulty. If it is a translation, then it is necessary to consider the objection that original peculiarities in the Pentateuch would disappear in a translation. The objection is plausible, but specious. While original peculiarities of a book are somewhat obscured in translation, they do never all disappear. The most skillful translators of foreign books into English, or any other tongue for that matter, are never able to obliterate all traces of foreign peculiarities, even when trying to do so. Everyone familiar with the tongue from which a book has been translated as well as the tongue into which it has been translated is able to detect some of the original peculiarities through the medium of the translation. It is never quite possible to translate into one tongue the idioms of another tongue.

Turning to the questions of fact involved in this case, very much can be said for a cuneiform original for the Pentateuch and all the early books of the Old Testament. While critics with their microscopes have

differed concerning the linguistic atoms which they perceive, there has been a very strong tendency among archaeologists, since the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in 1888, to regard a cuneiform original of all the Mosaic literature as a settled question. The large number of these tablets written from the Palestinian dependencies of the Egyptian suzerain show that cuneiform and the Babylonian tongue, in a Canaanite dialect, were the language and method of writing for official documents in Palestine in that age, which was about 140 or 150 years before the time of the Exodus. Not only so, but this was the official or literary language and script for Palestine. This official correspondence of Amon-Hotep IV shows that Egypt accepted it as such. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of Egypt," and the people for whom he wrote were going to live in Palestine. These facts justify no other conclusion than that whatever Moses wrote for the people to take to the Promised Land would be written in Babylonian cuneiform of the Canaan dialect. This seems what would be done. What was actually done is not so easily determined, but there are not wanting indications in the Pentateuch itself that this was actually done. It would be too much of a digression in this lecture to enter fully upon the consideration of the evidence at this point. In a subsequent lecture we may return to the subject, and so content ourselves now with only the most important few facts and references.

There was a sacred, or literary, method of writing, and also a secular or business method, among the ancients of Bible lands. The best known illustration of this is the Hieroglyphics of Egypt with the more cursive Hieratic of the priests and the Demotic of the people in the ordinary affairs of life. The Hieroglyphics are called (in the Egyptian) "writing of divine words" as late as the Rosetta stone (*Records of the Past*, 1st Series, IV. p. 78, line 54). But it is quite as certain that in Palestine as in Egypt, alongside of the sacred and literary method of record there grew up a secular script using the native tongue (cf. Zerbe, *Antiquity of Hebrew Literature*, Chapters IV, V, VI). The Tel el-Amarna tablets are the great illustration of the sacred or literary style of Palestine. The Moabite stone, the Siloam inscription and the Hebrew calendar tablet from Gezer are illustrations of another style, a native product. This style, in the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription, had already begun to displace the former literary and sacred style. How early this native product began to compete with the imported literary and sacred method is an undetermined question.

Was this same literary custom of using both a sacred and a secular method prevalent in Israel at the time of the Exodus? There certainly seem to be hints of it. The "finger of God" (Ex. XXXI. 18) may well mean "the sacred writing." It is used also elsewhere in Scripture, as Exodus VIII. 19, Psalms VIII. 3, and in the New Testament, Luke

XI. 20. The writing is also mentioned as "Writing of God" (Ex. XXXII. 16). "Finger of God" and "Writing of God" may well have been used to denote "Sacred writing." It must be admitted that the only instance of the corresponding expression, the "pen of a man," occurs at a late date in ISAIAH VIII. 1.

The strange spelling of proper names in the Pentateuch has also led some to think that they are, in the present Hebrew, a translation from a cuneiform original. The fragmentariness and repetitiousness which characterizes much of the literature of the Pentateuch is exactly what would be found in books translated originally from tablets, each of which was a book in itself and needing, as an introduction, a resumé of some preceding statements. The archaeological argument on this subject of a cuneiform original is best presented by Professor Naville (*Archaeology of the Old Testament*, Chapter I) and the philological argument by Professor Sayce (cf. *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 44, 45).

It will be seen that it is not necessary to enter further into the evidence on this subject now, when it is noted that translations, in addition to the difficulties that translation presents, are apt specifically to retain peculiar foreign words and phrases. How often they greet us, sometimes confuse us, on the pages of translations of modern French, Italian and Spanish literature. This is not a modern fad. It was very much the vogue in Egypt about the time of the Exodus, when, during the XIX and XX

dynasties, there was a perfect mania for introducing peculiar, or expressive, foreign words, especially Semitic words, into accounts of things in Palestine; there are indications, also, that translations of cuneiform originals entered into these accounts. This literary habit may be seen in English translations of Egyptian records which have retained for us the foreign words and phrases retained by the Egyptian scribe (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Broderick edition, *Travels of a Mohar*, pp. 303-307, Breasted, *Ancient Records*).

How perfectly natural, then, that Hebrew words should be found in Egyptian documents about that time (as they, indeed, are) and that Moses in writing in Hebrew or in Babylonian cuneiform, as the case may be, should use many Egyptian words and phrases, and when, later, the Pentateuch was translated from the Babylonian into the Hebrew language and script, that these foreign words should have been retained. Here these words now are in the Hebrew. If it be an original, the author used them; if it is a translation, the translator retained them, as the English translator has also sometimes retained them. Neither the one translator nor the other would introduce these foreign terms into the text. So here they are to be considered, whether the present text be an original or a translation. Let us consider them.

I. The first class of evidence to be considered which will throw light upon peculiar expressions in the Pentateuch consists of certain Hebrew words

found in the Egyptian language and for the most part attributed to the Egyptian by the Hebrew of the Pentateuch. Whether the Hebrew of the Pentateuch is an original or a translation, no one doubts that Hebrew, i.e., Canaanite, was spoken by the Hebrew people in Egypt, as well as, doubtless, also, the Egyptian tongue. If the original of the Pentateuch was Babylonian cuneiform of Palestine, these Hebrew words attributed to Egypt would either be transferred to the cuneiform and so appear in the translation in Hebrew, or they would be translated into the Babylonian text and then restored in the Hebrew. In any case they are here in the Hebrew text and attributed to the Egyptian people and are also found in the Egyptian tongue. When the facts in detail are brought before us, we will be able to estimate the significance and value of their evidence concerning Pentateuchal times.

There are two periods of Egyptian history in which Semitism was rife: in the Middle Kingdom, especially under the Hyksos kings, when Semitic gods, as Sutekh and Reshpu, were introduced and worshipped, and for a time, until the absorbent powers of Egyptian influence overcame it, Semitism was dominant down in the north. Again in the XIX and XX dynasties, when, though Egyptians were on the throne and there was no great foreign immigration, the use of Semitic words was yet exceedingly prevalent in Egyptian, and the use of Semitic words untranslated became a literary fad (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Broderick edi-

tion, pp. 303-307). From both these periods of Egyptian history come Semitic words, Hebrew words attributed by the Pentateuchal writer to Egypt and found embalmed in the language of Egypt, word mummies, which are now witnesses for us concerning Pentateuchal times.

1. Succoth (Heb. *sŭkkōth*) is a Hebrew word meaning "tents," not substantial tents of cloth or skins, but tents of the stalks of plants or the branches of trees, literally "booths." When the Feast of Tabernacles was established the people were told to dwell in "tabernacles," i.e., Booths," "succoth" (Lev. XXIII. 34, 44). The Israelites were shepherd people at their entrance into Egypt and equally so at their exodus from Egypt: not, indeed, pure nomads, but semi-nomads, both tending flocks and cultivating fields. This is further made certain by many Biblical notes on the subject. Joseph went to visit his brethren *with their flocks*, but his first dream was not that of a Bedouin boy who knew nothing of life but the keeping of flocks; it was a dream of the harvest field (Gen. XXXVII. 5-8). Joseph's instruction to his brethren to tell Pharaoh that their trade had been "about cattle" (Gen. XLVI. 34) would not have been given, if they had never done anything else than tend cattle. Now these Hebrew people with their flocks and herds would, like other shepherd people, build just such temporary shelters as the word "succoth" implies. They are still built by the Bedouin; whole villages of dura stalks or palm branches may be

seen in the Delta and in Wady Feiran. They are very common among the farmers also in Egypt to this day. It is not surprising, then, that, when the Hebrews set out from their homes on their journey out of Egypt, they gathered the first night at a place in Egypt called "Succoth," or "booths." It is just what might be expected. But when there was uncovered near the ruins of Pithom a stele erected to the memory of a priest and there was found recorded on it that he was a priest in the region of "Thuku" the exact Egyptian phonetic equivalent of "succoth," and we read in the papyrus Anastasia the request of "The Shashu (Bedouin) of the land of Aduma (Edom) to pass through the fortress Ketham . . . . which is situated in the land of Succoth" (Brugsch, Broderick edition, p. 100) the Pentateuchal account takes on a new interest. The Pentateuchal account is not merely Hebrew description; it is a geographic note of that time in Egypt. The Hebrew name was taken into the Egyptian and applied to a locality. Professor Naville has shown that this word "succoth" is probably also a North African word meaning "pasture land" and may have come into Egyptian from that source. But a "pasture land" would be a land of tents "succoth," and the common people do not trouble themselves about etymologies, if they find a convenient word. So that "succoth" to them would be "booths" and we would have the record exactly as we have it and its historical value is the same (Naville, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, November, 1915, pp. 211–212).

Now this passage is assigned by the Documentary Theory to J of about the 8th century B.C. (Oxford Hexateuch, II, 98). This Egyptian place-name might have continued down through the centuries and possibly might even have been obtainable by a Hebrew writer in Palestine of the 8th century B.C. But it is difficult to understand why he should have attended to such an incidental matter of geography as this. Such minute geographical notices are only believable of a writer at the time of the Exodus and of one very familiar with Egypt.

2. Ohel (Heb. ōhĕl), in Hebrew, is in contrast with "succoth." As "succoth" was a temporary booth of branches or leaves, so *Ohel* was a permanent tent of skins or cloth. Such a tent is not mentioned in the Pentateuch as in use in Egypt, but it is interesting to note in connection with the Egyptian use of the word "succoth," that Meremptah, generaly believed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, by those who accept the Pentateuchal story at all and believe there was a real exodus, in giving account of his conflict with the Asiatic foreigners in that period mentions their encampment and calls their tents "*ahil*," the Egyptian equivalent of the Hebrew word "*ohel*." It helps us to see now, what will be still more apparent as we proceed, that the use of "succoth" is not the accidental employment of an alien word, but an illustration of a very large and persistent influence brought to bear by this slave people upon a language of such exclusiveness as the Egyptian (cf. for this use of "*ahil*" in the

texts, *Egyptological Researches*, Müller, 1906, Pl. 18 line 7; for translation, Brugsch, *Egypt under the, Pharaohs*, Broderick edition, p. 312).

3. Migdol (Heb. *Mighdŏl*). In the topographical notes in the account of the Exodus by which the place of the crossing is so carefully located, it is said that the encampment by the sea was "between Migdol and the sea" (Ex. XIV. 2). The route of the Exodus from Marah onward is very exactly identified. I once asked a German missionary to the Bedouin of that region what was the best guidebook for the route of the Exodus. "Oh," said he, "the Bible, of course. The Book of Exodus is better than Baedeker. You will need nothing but the Bible." I found his advice literally correct. At the safe distance of 3000 or 6000 miles, in a Continental or English or American study or professorial chair, one may conjure up many doubts about that route of the Exodus, but the experience of following the description given in the book of Exodus mile by mile along the old caravan route is overwhelmingly convincing. Now the key to the place of the crossing is the statement, "They went three days' journey in the wilderness and found no water' '(Ex. XV, 22), "and when they came to Marah, they could not drink the waters of Marah, for they were bitter" (Ex. XV. 23). About three days' journey, then, north of Marah is to be found the place of the crossing. Ten miles a day is good progress for a well organized army. Certainly these refugees in their but half-organized condition could not have

done more. The place of the crossing cannot, then, have been more than five to seven miles either way from Suez, 30 miles north of Marah (Smith's *Historical Atlas*). Immediately behind Suez, Ras Attaka's long unbroken range comes right down to the edge of the sea. As the refugees came down the west coast of the sea the "wilderness shut them in," they could neither crest this mountain range nor pass the end of it. This Attaka mountain is a natural look-out that no military eye would overlook. Somewhere on that promontory was undoubtedly one of the watch-towers of the chain of fortresses along the frontier which the Egyptians called the "wall" (cf. Egyptian "Anbu," Pierrett, *Dictionaire de Noms*, p. 35. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharoahs*, I, p. 207).

But Migdol is the Hebrew word for a tower, especially the tower of fortifications. When Gideon in his great victory came to Penuel and was refused refreshment for his weary tribesmen he said "When I come again in peace, I will break down this tower," Heb. "*mighdŏl*" (Judg. VIII. 9). And when Abimalek assaulted Schechem and carried it "so that all the men of the tower of Schechem died also, about 1000 men and women" (Judg. IX. 49), the "tower" is "*Mighdŏl.*" The Egyptian records speak of towers along this eastern frontier and use this same word "*mighdŏl.*" The distinctly Egyptian word for tower was very different, "*umt.*" They used two forms which seem to conform to the Semitic "*mighdŏl,*" "*Maktar*" and "*makatir,*" sub-

stituting, as is common, k for g, and r for l of Semitic words (Brugsch thinks these words equivalent to "migdol;" Pierrett thinks they come from the Hebrew root "*katar*"). These words mean a "wall of circumvallation" in the Egyptian, but are, like "*umt*," used to denote a fortress, and all three alike have for a determinative in the hieroglyphics the tower-like wall.

The astonishing geographical accuracy which we have already seen is here paralleled in this word "*mighdŏl*" with a still more remarkable topographical accuracy, more remarkable because topographical names, especially names of some artificial construction, are far less enduring than geographical names. In these days of topographical maps, geographical studies, and national war colleges which keep permanent records, such a topographical note might be possible at any time within a century or two after events, but it is a great strain on credulity to ask us to believe that, in those days, any scribe even one generation later could have obtained such information, or would have known it himself, or even have known to seek for it, *unless he had lived in Egypt*. And yet this passage (Ex. XIV. 2) is assigned to P in Babylon about 700 years later (Oxford Hexateuch, II, p. 100).

4. *Adon* (Heb. *'adhōn*) is another Hebrew word found in the Egyptian language not only of this period of the Exodus, but reaching far back into the Hyksos period in the time of Joseph. *Adon* is pure Hebrew and means "master," especially a master

of servants, as when one of Abram's servants speaks of "my master" (Gen. XXIV. 12, 14). It is also the word used frequently in the judgments concerning masters and slaves in Exodus XXI. It is thus exactly the name which Hebrew slaves in Egypt would give to their master. An illustration of such slave name for "master" will help us to understand what transpired in Egypt in those days. In the year 1610, in the month of August, a Dutch man-of-war dropped anchor in the James River, disembarked a few passengers, and ominously inaugurated the immigration problem of America and especially that dark phase of the problem, the slavery of the black man. But that ship had to do with another less important event, as has almost every immigrant ship from that day to this, and it is that event which concerns us now. I mean the introduction of a new word into the colloquial language of this continent. That word was "massa," and its history is a very interesting one. It followed the slave, and its colloquial use fluctuated with the shifting territorial limits of American slavery until at last it became the pathetic moan of the Southland. Then came the deluge, and, when the ground was dry from the blood and man went forth again to people and replenish the earth and a new generation grew up, "massa" began to be forgotten. After the lapse of half a century and more, it is seldom heard, except from the lips of some patriarchal "uncle" or "mammy" in whose mouths the word is a convincing shibboleth of slave experience; and it

is seldom now seen except in those popular annals of bygone days which preserve the dialect of "Fo' de war." At the end of a century this word will probably be obsolete in the English tongue of the American continent.

Something almost identical with this slave history of America and of scarcely less significance in our faith than this is in our national life is just as clearly apparent in the history of old Egypt. The Hebrews, or let us say here the Semites, in Egypt were government slaves and naturally enough the Egyptian government had its "Foreigner's bureau" in those days, as the Government of the United States had a "Freedmen's bureau" in the days when the emancipated slaves became for a time the wards of the government. Meremptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, speaks especially of this Foreigners' bureau, and also informs us that the government slaves were used in three ways: in industrial settlements, on public works, and in military service. It is most interesting that the inscriptions throw some special light upon the management of those engaged upon public works. For one thing, the title of the government officer having charge of these slaves so employed is given. Now the Egyptian language had a name for such an officer, and it was of frequent occurrence, meaning "superintendent of constructions," but the inscriptions of the government of Meremptah who stood at the climax of Hebrew slavery call the officer of these slaves engaged on public works by

a different name. He is called "*adon*," and this word continues in the language for some time after that period, but gradually passes out of use and in later centuries is not employed.

This title "*adon*" occurs also in the earlier history of Egypt. Hor-em-heb, in his preparation for a journey in the XVIII dynasty was advanced from one position to another and among his promotions was "raised to be *adon* during the space of many years" (Brugsch, Broderick edition, p. 231). This was well within the period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt. The Biblical record in Genesis XLV. 8–9, makes Joseph say of himself that he had been made an "ab" to Pharaoh (cf. p. 28) and "lord of his house" and "lord of all the land of Egypt." No Egyptologist can doubt that Joseph is here giving his titles, or at least a part of them. The constant reiteration of the titles of Egyptian officers in the inscriptions which is as tiresome as the "*Herr* this" and "*Herr* that" and the "This *rath*" and the "that *rath*" of German bureaucracy, makes it certain that these were titles. "*Ab*" is the Egyptian for "*vizier*" not the Hebrew for "father," as translators have thought it to be, and "*Adon*" is an Egyptian title in that time of strong Semitic influence. "Ruler throughout the land of Egypt" may also be a title, though "ruler" being a common noun is more probably Hebrew description.

Now all these Hebrew words attributed to the Egyptian people and found among the Egyptian people of the times to which attributed, though long

dead, are eloquent concerning the times of the writing of the Hebrew record. It is not at all surprising that these words are in the Hebrew Pentateuch, their presence there of itself furnishes no evidence; it is not, indeed, remarkable that the Hebrew writer should attribute them to the Egyptian people, at least his mere doing so does not of itself constitute any evidence; but when these words are found in the Egyptian language exactly as attributed to it, we have evidence that the Hebrew writer had a phenomenal acquaintance with the Egyptian tongue such as no Palestinian writer of the 8th or 7th century B.C. could be expected to possess. Yet this passage is attributed by critics to E about the 7th century B.C. (Oxford Hexateuch, II, p. 70).

II. A second class of words, phrases, and narratives of peculiar characteristics in the Pentateuch which throw much light on Pentateuchal times consists of Hebrew translations of Egyptian words. If there was a cuneiform original of the Pentateuch, they were probably translated in it; at least they have been translated in the Hebrew. Had they been transliterated from the Egyptian into the cuneiform, they would most probably, like other Egyptian words, have been transliterated into Hebrew. These Hebrew translations, when compared with the Egyptian originals, reveal such striking characteristics as throw much light upon the time, circumstances and authorship of the Pentateuch.

1. The narrative of the plagues. In the narrative of the plagues, there is displayed the most accurate knowledge of the natural objects and phenomena which are the embodiment of the plagues (cf. *I. S. B. E.*, 2403 ff.).

(1) The red, or bloody Nile (Heb. *Dām* from "*ādhām*," "to be red") occurs at times, but is not frequent in Egypt. Persons reared in that land sometimes know nothing of it from personal observation. It comes at the time of the lowest stage of water just before the beginning of the annual rise of the Nile. The water is filled with red fungi, becomes slimy and impure, and the fish die. All water in the river and canals and in vessels is so contaminated. The only recourse of the people for pure water is to dig wells down to the level of the infiltration of the water of the Nile through the sand. This infiltration naturally filters the water and makes it potable, exactly as in the account in Scriptures (Ex. VII. 17–25).

(2) Frogs (Heb. *tsᵉphardᵉīm*, Ex. VIII. 1–15) seldom make trouble in Egypt, but that they are capable of most prolific multiplication is attested by the use of the frog as the hieroglyphic sign for "myriads." The time of frogs is immediately following the abating of the waters of the inundation. The spawn cast in the soft mud in all the marshy places, and sometimes wherever the water has come, and hatched out by the blazing sun fills the land with these noisome, slimy, cold creatures. Ordinarily they remain in the marsh: but the plague brought them out for the torment of the people.

(3) Lice (Heb. *kinnīm*, Ex. VIII. 16–19). Close upon the croaking frogs come the insects that torment man and beast, "pinchers" as the Hebrew writer most aptly calls them. Lice, fleas, mosquitoes and sand-flies are capable, even without the miraculous intensifying of the plague, of making life very miserable, as I have good reason to remember. The sand-flies especially are capable of penetrating anything but the most closely woven fabric and leave great inflamed lumps which burn and sting for weeks. This plague is not said to have been removed: the Egyptians say it never was removed, *for it is still there.*

(4) Flies (Heb. *'arōbh*, "swarm" or "sucker," Ex. VIII. 20–32). Either of these meanings graphically and accurately describes this pest of Egypt, which is next in order of appearance in the seasons of Egypt. Flies are a constant plague in that land to this day.

(5) Murrain (Heb. *debher*, "destruction," Ex. IX. 1–7). The insects and flies distribute infection; so modern hygienic science teaches us. The murrain does in fact immediately follow the insects and flies in Egypt. Did the Pentateuchal writer know modern science, or did he know Egypt? Or did he perchance know more of both than some are willing to admit?

(6) Boils (Heb. *sh^{e}hīn* and *abha'bu'ōth*, Ex. IX. 8–17) among men also follow at once upon the heels of rinderpest in Egypt. They cover nearly the same time, but the rinderpest appears first, as *in the narrative of the plagues.*

(7) Hail (Heb. *bārādh*, Ex. IX. 18–35) is but little known in Egypt. One may live a lifetime there and yet not see it. Yet it does sometimes come and at this very season, as indicated by its place in the order of the plagues. I have myself experienced the terrors of a hail-storm in Upper Egypt at the season indicated in the Pentateuchal narrative. I never suffered so much from the cold anywhere, at any time, as in that hail-storm; this, for one accustomed to a cold climate. The amazement and terror of the Egyptians in the narrative are quite in accord with experience. The time of such occurrence is just when the young crops are maturing, as indicated in the narrative (Ex. IX. 31–32).

The thunder and lightning which accompanied the hail does also sometimes occur even in Upper Egypt. I once saw a thunderstorm, also in the winter as this one was, in Upper Egypt. It was just such a storm as comes in America at the end of a July day. Yet another, who had lived in Egypt for fourteen years, told me that he had never seen a thunderstorm.

(8) Locusts (Heb. *'arbeh*, Ex. X. 1–20) in Egypt come from the desert, either east or west. These came from the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, not from the Sahara on the west. This great invasion of locusts was borne by an "east wind" (Ex. X. 13), and carried away by a "west wind" (Ep. X. 19), which exactly accords with the necessities of the local situation.

(9) Darkness (Heb. *hōshekh*, Ex. X. 21–29). A darkness "that can be felt" leaves no room for doubt in the mind of one ever caught in a dreadful *khamseen* laden with sand. At this next season of the year indicated in the order of plagues in the narrative it makes a darkness that, indeed, "*can be felt.*"

(10) Death of the first-born (Heb. *b'khōr*, the "first-born," "chief" or "best," Ex. XI.–XII. 36, cf. Job XVIII. 13, Isa. XIV. 30). Last of all, in the circle of the year, when the low Nile comes, is the bubonic plague season. What was the appearance of the "death of the first-born?" What the multitude would call this visitation of Jehovah it is impossible to say. What was the physical means employed and the physical effect produced is not at all indicated. But the plague does come at this season of the year, takes the strongest and best, *i.e.*, the "first-born," is apt to have a culminating point in one terrible day and then quickly subside. It may well have been the means employed by the Lord and certainly satisfies exactly the description given in the Pentateuchal narrative in time and manifestation, the death of the "first-born," and is, in fact, called a "pestilence" (Ex. IX. 15).

The account of these plagues given in the Pentateuch, indicating, as it does, the exact nature, order and timing, of these natural events, which were by miraculous intensifying and embodiment of moral purpose transformed into the plagues, displays a minutely accurate knowledge, and even familiarity,

with Egypt on the part of the writer. These various natural phenomena do not frequently occur with intensity, some of them seldom occur, so that people living in Egypt do not always know of their occurrence at all. Hearsay information or a mere passing acquaintance with Egypt would not suffice for the author of this account. The minutely accurate knowledge of life in Egypt displayed by this narrative in the book of Exodus is inconceivable in an age of so little and difficult intercommunication between nations, except by actual residence of the author in Egypt. Since such residence in Egypt is probable only at the time of Israel's sojourn there, this has an important bearing upon the time of the composition of this narrative and so upon the question of its authorship.

Such minute accuracy in the description of local events and customs by a foreign writer is unknown where the facts can be fully tested. It is only in such supposed cases as Biblical criticism provides, where complete practical tests are not easily possible, that such feats are admitted. The dolorous fate of English and continental writers who attempt to describe things American, to say nothing of American globe-trotters who essay to "do Europe" and "write up" the trip, ought to be enough to warn against the impossibility of the minute accuracy of those supposed literary adventurers, J and E and P and D. What American does not feel indignation at times when reading even Dickens' *American Notebook*—Dickens, the master observer

of little traits of character and little acts and whims! What then would have been the fate of any Jewish scribe of the 8th or 7th century in Palestine, or the 5th century in Babylonia, cut off as much from the intimate life of Egypt in those days as we are from the intimate life of Central Russia in these days, who attempted such an involved account of natural events and local happenings as is included in the account of the Plagues of Egypt? He would have come to grief as certainly and as ingloriously, even ridiculously, as the Irishman who described the first squirrel which he saw in America as "a bushy-tailed snake a runnin' up a tree." Pat's critical name in this case is J, E, JE and P, to all of whom various parts of the narrative of these plagues is attributed.

2. *Anbu* (Heb. *shūr*, a "wall"). It is said of Hagar: "And the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur" (Gen. XVI. 7). Afterwards of Abraham it is said: "And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned at Gerar" (Gen. XX. 1). Of the Ishmaelites it is said: "And they dwelt from Havila unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria" (Gen. XXV. 18). And of the exodus it is said: "So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went out from the wilderness of Shur: and they went three days in the wilderness and found no water" (Ex. XV. 22). This word Shur is thus attributed to some "wall" on the eastern border of

Egypt as early as the time of Abraham and his descendants, the Ishmaelites, and again to the same region in the days of the Exodus.

This word "Shur" is, of course, a Hebrew word. But why a "wall" mentioned at this place? Was there really such a wall? And was it so important as to give rise to such an expression as the "wilderness of the wall?" These things are assumed as facts in the use of this word, and there is also assumed a mutual understanding between writer and reader of the significance of this word. The use of this word "Shur" is assigned in the Documentary Theory to JE. In one instance (Ex. XV. 22), it is taken out of the midst of a passage to be assigned to JE. A late reader would not be troubled because he did not understand this word, but would receive it as a name, but certainly a late writer would not produce such a word without knowing what he meant by it. How would the meaning which he attributed to it correspond to the facts of early history, if, indeed, they did so? Yet about the period of the Exodus the meaning of this name is made quite plain by the Egyptian records of the "*anbu*," "walls" on the eastern frontier. It is not certain whether they were a continuous line of defense, a Chinese wall, or merely a line of fortifications which formed a "wall" of protection as did the waters of the Red Sea to the Israelites, when they became "a wall unto them" (cf. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Broderick edition, p. 97; *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 57 (Driver); Breasted,

Travels of Sinuhit, Ancient Records; also *Records of the Past,* New Series II, pp. 11–36).

While the testimony of this word is not so positive, for the name might linger long after the "wall" had perished, its perfectly natural and correct use here and the complete assumption of an understanding between the writer and the reader that called for no explanatory phrases, is another subtle, delicate touch of harmony with exact historical conditions which seem beyond the ability of historical novelists of the 8th or 7th century B.C., throwing back their statements upon the screen of antiquity.

3. *Aat* (Heb. *To'ēbhăh*, "abomination," Gen. XLVI. 34). Another word from the same region, and, in part, from the same period, gives testimony to the same effect: the Egyptian word "*aat.*" We hear much in these days about the "yellow peril." The imagination of many statesmen, or, at least, alarmists who wish to be considered statesmen, see it hovering upon the political horizon of both Europe and America.

Old Egypt in the days of Joseph and the Hyksos kings had also a "yellow peril" which became a reality, and which, long after it passed away, was still a "yellow peril" to the fears of the Egyptians. They called it "*aat,*" which means "abomination" or "pest." They applied this hateful name to the Hyksos tyranny and to all associated with these foreign shepherd kings. Indeed, so spiteful was the national hatred against these people, and so per-

sistently did they call them by this name, and others of similar import, that it has never been possible to learn from the Egyptians the ethnic name of their oppressors. To this day, the race and nationality of the Hyksos is involved in mystery and is the subject of continual speculation. So Joseph said to his brethren: "Every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Now the Egyptian word "*aat*" does not appear in Genesis. Being not a proper name, but a mere epithet, the author of Genesis, or perhaps the translator, if there was a cuneiform original, did not transliterate it, but translated it into Hebrew by the very exact equivalent, "*to'ebhah*," i.e., "abomination." The Hyksos kings were driven from Egypt by Amasis: then the great kings of the XVIII dynasty, the Thothmes and the Amenhoteps, established firmly the eastern frontier of Egypt, and extended the empire from the "river of Egypt" to the Euphrates. *Aat*, "abomination," that ogre of the eastern horizon, disappeared from the Egyptian imagination, from Egyptian history and, in this use of it, from the Egyptian language. Egyptian pride scorned to make mention of the great time of humiliation, and national spirit and policy did its utmost to obliterate every trace of the Hyksos occupation of any part of the land. And yet we are asked to believe that J, an hypothetical writer in Palestine about 800 B.C. (Oxford Hexateuch, II, 73), or at least "Some time before the time of Jeremiah," in foisting upon the people a new book concerning the times of Moses, attained

to such a philological nicety as this. Rather we will prefer to accept the alternative that here is distinctively the mark of authorship contemporaneous with the "yellow peril," or, at least, within memory of it in Egypt.

III. A third and most important group of evidence now to be heard consists of Egyptian words and phrases found in the Pentateuch.

1. *Ab* (Heb. *'ab*, Gen. XLV. 8) is translated "father" in both the received text and in the revision. Attention has recently been called to this word by Joseph Offort (*Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund*, July, 1918). It was also long ago noticed by Lieblein (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1898, p. 209), and even earlier by Brugsch (*Egypt Under the Pharaohs*, Broderick edition, p. 101). This word has exactly the appearance and sound of the Hebrew word for "father" as far as it is now possible to know the exact sound of ancient Hebrew letters. It is quite possible, also, by the help of the imagination, to think of Joseph regarding himself as a "father" to Pharaoh. He may possibly have been, comparatively, of such age as to make the appellation appropriate in reference to the Pharaoh. But Joseph is undoubtedy telling of his rank, and, after the Egyptian custom, giving his titles as an officer in Egypt. So he describes himself as the "*Ab* to Pharaoh." The title "lord" (Heb. *'ādhōn*), i.e., "master of affairs," was a Semitic title in Egypt at a later date, as we have already seen (cf. p. 14). As Semitic influence was very

great in the Hyksos period, it is not unlikely that it was so used then as here represented in this account of Joseph. In any case it was an exact Hebrew description of an Egyptian title. On the other hand, "*Ab*" is an Egyptian word meaning "inspector," i.e., "Vizier," of Pharaoh. This word the Hebrew writer transliterated "*ab*" and properly so, but the English translator translated it as though it were a Hebrew word meaning "father," instead of transliterating it as the Hebrew writer had done, or else translating it from the Egyptian as "Vizier."

2. *Abrek* (Heb. *'abhrēk*, Gen. XLI. 48). Many attempts have been made to explain this word. Its general significance cannot be in doubt to anyone familiar with the orient; it unquestionably means that Joseph was permitted to have an official outrunner to clear the way before him. But was this word "*abrek*" the cry of the out-runner, or, of the multitude? It is this special significance, so shrouded in mystery, that becomes incidentally a witness concerning Pentateuchal times.

Renouf's identification of this expression, early in Egyptian studies, was exceedingly artificial, not to say arbitrary. He derived it from the Egyptian "*ab*" with a determinative that gives it the meaning "thirst," "desire," joined to the expression *r-k*, "thy mouth," meaning "thy command," and so made the whole expression to mean "Thy command is our desire" (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, XI. 5–8).

M. Harkévy is rather less artificial in his identification. He derives "*abrek*" from Egyptian *ab*

"prime" or "first," and rek, "knowledge," "first in knowledge," i.e., "savant" or "chief of wise men," meaning that seems quite appropriate (*Journal Asiatique*, 1870).

The suggestion of Lieblein, however, at once makes all other explanations seem far-fetched. *Abrek* is from *ab* with a very different determinative than that used when it means "Vizier," determining its meaning to be "*left*;" r-k is the preposition "for" and the pronoun "thee." *Abrek* is thus the cry of the outrunner, "The left for thee," doubtless having the counterpart expression for the man who should turn to the right, and thus having its echo everywhere in the way of the pedestrian in the streets of Egypt today, "*shmalak*," "*y'minak*," "To thy left," "To thy right."

Now the Hebrew writer in these two passages in Genesis used these Egyptian words *ab* and *abrek*, expecting his readers to understand them. He did not even feel the need of taking the trouble to differentiate between the Egyptian word *ab* and Hebrew word *ab*, and not only did he know the Egyptian cry of the outrunner, but expected his readers to understand it also without a hint of explanation. *Ab* is assigned by the Oxford Hexateuch to JE and *abrek* to J (Hexateuch, II. 70, and II. 65). That an 8th or even 7th century writer in Canaan should have described the titles of Joseph or have assigned him an outrunner in Egypt is not incredible, but who can imagine his knowing and quoting the exact Egyptian words, or if that be thought within

the bounds of possibility, his expectation that his readers would understand these words without any explanation! Is such pedantry consistent with the simplicity of literary methods of that period of Israelite literature? Where else in all Scripture is such pedantry found? Allusions must always be understood in Scripture to fix authorship within the time when such allusions were understood. Certainly these allusions would not be understood by writer and reader much later than the Exodus period.

3. We turn now to a group of personal names, Zaphnath-Paaneah, Asenath and Potipher and Potiphera (Gen. XXXIX. 1, and XLI. 45), which may all be grouped together in the discussion as they are in history.

There was a time when proper names had signification among English speaking people, but that time has passed away. Once "Johnson" meant "John's son;" now it means nothing of the sort. The important question of the nursery is not in reality any more "What shall the baby be called," but, "For whom shall the baby be called," and the name chosen gratifies the vanity of fond grandpa or grandma, or Aunt Jane, pleases the passing fancy of papa or mamma, or, perhaps, makes a seductive plea for an inheritance from some rich uncle, but in itself the name seldom means anything whatever. In Bible lands it was, and is, altogether different. Among the first questions the Egyptians ask concerning a fresh missionary arrival from America is,

"What does his name mean?" Alas for the missionary whose name, either by translation or transliteration, into Arabic happens to convey a disagreeable meaning to the Egyptian mind. Names in that part of the world today are usually religious in signification. In ancient Egypt they were almost always so, and from that fact arises great help to the student of the history of that ancient people. It comes about in this way: The Egyptian people had "gods many and lords many." Fond parents named the little ones after the god or goddess most honored in the household at the time, or because of the auspicious event. But one god was in greatest favor at one time, and another god at another time, and besides, the ascendency of certain gods was localized in certain parts of Egypt at various periods of Egyptian history. It thus comes about that papa and mamma, in naming the baby in old Egypt, were constructing a kind of chronological index to Egyptian history (indeed, one of the best we possess), at the same time that they gave a good clue to the part of Egypt in which they resided. Thus the gods of Egypt did for Egyptian history on a far larger scale what the national heroes have done for us. "George Washingtons" did not become numerous until after 1776, nor "Abraham Lincolns" until after 1860. Thus it happens that Joseph's Egyptian name, Zaphnath-Paaneah, and Asenath, the name of his Egyptian wife, and Potipher and Potiphera have become important witnesses on the Pentateuchal question.

These names have been given a place in the front rank among archaeological evidence of the late origin of the Pentateuch. Many years ago M. Kraal argued from the data then known that names of the meaning of these names were unknown among the Egyptians until about the 9th century B.C., which would bring the writing of the story of Joseph down to the time of the prophet Elijah, one hundred years after the time of David, and would shut Moses completely out of the case. Now that is exactly the conclusion reached by those who claim to hold the modern view of the Old Testament, and they have persistently quoted this opinion of the Egyptologist, Kraal, ofttimes at second hand or even much farther along the line of literary descent, from that day to this, as may be seen in some of the great Bible Dictionaries and in the works of popular writers on the subject (such as Prof. George Adam Smith and Professor Driver). This view was adopted by Driver in *The Hastings Bible Dictionary*, and an enlarged statement of it was presented in Hogarth's composite volume, *Authority and Archaeology* (pp. 51–52), and was relied upon by George Adam Smith in his confident conclusions in *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament* (p. 64). Well, it is a pretty safe thing when you want something and find just what you want, *not to find anything more.* That is just what these men have done; having found this that exactly suited their theory, they have ignored every discovery on the subject since made.

It is now of the utmost importance to examine the evidence upon which this argumentation concerning the time of the writing of this part of the Pentateuch rests, for the value of the *evidence* is the only value of the *conclusions drawn from it*, and upon the *scrutiny* of the evidence depends the correctness of the value assigned to it. It will be apparent at once that the value of the conclusions reached concerning the testimony of these names depends entirely upon the identification given them among possible Egyptian names. Let us examine, therefore, with much painstaking, the various identifications proposed. It is not true that only experts can judge the evidence: evidence is that which makes things evident.

(1) *Zaphnath-Paaneah* (Heb. *tsāphnāth-Pā'anēah*). The elder Brugsch (*Ges. Egypt*, p. 248) identified this name with Egyptian words which make Joseph's name to mean, "*Landpfleger des Bezirkes von den Statte des Lebens*," i.e., "*Landpfleger des Sethroïschen Gaues*, "Governor," or "Guardian of the Sethroitic Nome."

A. The sound is not identical, as will be seen from the comparison letter by letter:

Joseph's name,	Tsfnt-p'ankh.
Brugsch's identification,	Zpnnt-p'ankh.

B. The sense is not appropriate. As Lieblein well remarks, "The title of governor of a single Nome would not be suitable to be given to Joseph."

M. Kraal identifies Joseph's name with Egyptian words which mean, "Mentu speaks; he lives."

A. The sound is far from identical:

Joseph's name, Tsfnt-P'ankh.

Kraal's identification, Tsdmnt'auf'ankh.

B. The sense might be made possible, "Mentu speaks; he lives," but would certainly have no special appropriateness to such an occasion. Egyptians were wont to make much of the occasion in giving personal names, as are the American Indians.

C. Historically the name has no support until about the XX dynasty (cf. Lieblein, *Dictionaire de Noms*, 1051, 1143, 1017, 1061, 1228 (Lepsius, *Koenigsbuch*, 673), 2548 (probably XXVI dynasty).

Steindorff, for the name of the god Mentu suggested by M. Kraal, substitutes, in the Egyptian *p-ntr-auf* and makes the whole name to mean, "God spake; he lives."

A. The sound is here, also, far from identical:

Joseph's name, Tsfnt p'ankh.

Steindorff's identification, Ts-d-pntr auf 'ankh.

B. The sense, however, is much more fitting than that afforded by the proposed reading of M. Kraal: "God speaks; he lives." It might be thought to recall the question of Pharaoh, "Can we find such an one as this is, a man in whom the spirit of God is?"

C. Historically, the Egyptian would seem to supply no parallel to such a name. "God," an abstract reference to the Deity, without identification by some individual name, as "Amon" or "Ra," is most unusual in the Egyptian, if, indeed, it ever occurs. The Scriptural account certainly does

attribute such use of the divine name to Pharaoh, but it is in a Hebrew translation of Pharaoh's words, if, indeed, Pharaoh did not converse with Joseph in the Canaanite tongue. The name which he gave Joseph would, however, be Egyptian, after the universal Hyksos custom of using Egyptian names, and complying with Egyptian customs, and as much as possible working themselves into Egyptian favor by gratifying Egyptian prejudices.

D. Etymologically, it might be admissible in Hyksos times which have furnished us *Yaqob-el* in which the Hebrew name for God, *El*, is coupled with the proper name Jacob. Pharaoh, also, in all his conversation with Joseph, seemed not only to understand Joseph when he spake of "God," but himself also spoke of God without specifying any particular god of the pantheon. This is, of course, absolutely un-Egyptian; but so were the Hyksos kings un-Egyptian (cf. also, Budge, *History of Egypt*, V. pp. 126-127).

The most important thing to be noted in the identification of this name by both Kraal and Steindorff is that, as names so formed are not found until the XXII dynasty, in consequence, there is furnished, in either case, "*ein wichtiges Hülfsmittel zur Daterung von* Gen. XL. 45 *wie des Elohisten Uberhaupt*, "A very strong aid for the dating of Gen. XL. 45, as of the Elohist Source" (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptischen Sprache Alterthumskunde*, B XXVII, p. 42, and *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1898, p. 207). Such an argument requires that the identification must

be reasonably equivalent phonetically, and must afford appropriate sense. *Then only*, the history of such a name becomes important in determining the date of the composition of the narrative in Genesis. But this identification lacks much of being phonetically equivalent.

Lieblein's identification is as follows: *Tsfnt* is an adjective, pronominal in character, meaning in the Egyptian "food-man." *Pa'ankh* is a noun in the genitive meaning, "of the life." Thus the whole expression, by strict etymological interpretation means "the food-man of life," i.e., "the one who supplies the nourishment of life;" "The chief Steward of the realm in the face of famine;" his name was "Hoover."

A. Note that the correspondence in sound between Joseph's name and this identification is as nearly perfect as is possible between Egyptian and Hebrew.

Joseph's name,	Tsfnt Pa'ankh.
Lieblein's identification,	Tsfnt Pa'ankh.

B. The sense also is exactly appropriate to the office which Joseph held, as indicated by the narrative and by his titles *Ab*, "Vizier," of Pharaoh, "lord" of his house, "ruler throughout all the land of Egypt" (Gen. XLV. 8).

C. Historically, also, this name is appropriate. At least three kings of the XIV dynasty bore names compounded with *tsf*, the troublesome, as well as principal, element of this name of Joseph. For the various significations of this element in Egyptian

according to the determinative used, cf. Denk. II. 46-48 (Lieblein, *Dictionaire de Noms*, 55); Boulaq stele (Lieblein 161); Leiden stele, V. 109 (Lieblein, 451); Denk. II. 5 (Lieblein, 14).

(2) Asenath (Heb. *'asnath*) has been identified with Egyptian *nes neit* with aleph prosthetic in the Hebrew, which is etymologically and grammatically quite admissible. This identification has also been used to support the late authorship of the narrative in which it is found. (Driver in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, II. 775.) George Adam Smith says "the type to which Asenath belongs has a few early instances, but is frequent only under the XXI dynasty, in the 11th century and later." Thus this name is made to do duty as a rather weak helper, "weaker vessel," to the late theory of Joseph's name.

Asenath is better identified with Egyptian *snt*, a woman's name from the XI dynasty on to the XVIII dynasty, inclusive. In the Hebrew it appears with the aleph prosthetic.

(3) Potiphar and Potipherah (Heb. *pŏtipher* and *pŏtiphēra*). These may possibly be the same name, as suggested by some, though applied, of course, to different persons in this narrative. An identification has been proposed with Egyptian names of similar form making this name in Egyptian to be *Pt-p-ra*. Phonetically this is quite possible, in meaning it is quite appropriate, "ruler of the house of Ra," i.e., a temple officer at Heliopolis; and historically it harmonizes best with the late composi-

tion of the story of Joseph. But there is another identification equally good phonetically, appropriate in sense, and historically exactly coinciding with the Biblical representations and with the identification of the other names in the Joseph story. Under the Hyksos kings there was a man who was "chief of constructions of the god Amon," whose name was *Pt-bar*, an Egyptianized Semitic name, i.e., *Pet-Baal*, as the Egyptians did not distinguish between "r" and "l." Names thus compounded with Semitic divine names were not uncommon in Hyksos times. Thus while these names would be appropriate at a late date they are equally suitable for the time of Joseph according to the Biblical narrative (cf. Lieblein, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, XX, pp. 202-216).

These four names are attributed in the Documentary Theory to J, and JE, and RJE, "an editorial insertion" (Oxford Hexateuch, II, pp. 61 and 65) and much of the strength of the argument for this late date is drawn from reliance upon the archaeological data for the late date of such names in Egypt. Everything depends upon the identification of the names in the Egyptian language. There is equally good reason for Asenath and Potephar and Potipherah being ascribed to an early date as to a late date and far better reasons for ascribing Zaphnath-Paaneah to the age of Joseph according to the representation of the narrative in Genesis than to the late date sought for the Documentary Theory. Thus these names, instead of being fatal to the

Mosaic authorship of the story of Joseph, are in harmony with it, and actually accredit that narrative to an age not much later than that of Moses. Are we to be asked to believe that some scribe of the days of Hezekiah, or a little earlier or a little later, was an Egyptologist who dug up the ruined and forgotten archives of the Hyksos period which the later generations, in hatred of the foreign rulers, had done everything in their power to destroy and eradicate, and so carefully selected names which would support his desire to have the people receive the story as a genuine one from their great national hero, Moses? Or must we prepare our credulity to accept the alternative, that some happy chance directed his genius in selecting or inventing names for his heroes and heroines which only a Lieblein of the end of the 19th century A.D. should discover to be just what the highest art could have produced? Surely not even modern radical criticism, with all its self-complacency, would ask us to believe that Providence took a special hand in this plot to impose on an innocent people a new book under the name of an old author. The only credible explanation of these linguistic harmonies is that the documents in which they are found come from an age before the traces of the Hyksos kings disappeared into oblivion, which cannot be later than the Mosaic age, the age of the Israelites, who alone were interested in keeping alive in Egypt the memory of the days of their patrons, the Hyksos.

4. Three Egyptian words, referring particularly to Egyptian things, are now to be examined which bring before us most peculiar and striking evidence.

(1) *Akhu* (*'akhu*, "meadow," Gen. XLI. 2 and 18). Hawthorne, in his English note-book, gives account of many of the episodes of a consul's career at Liverpool in the 50's. Among other things, he relates how that many English people tried to palm themselves off as Americans in order to obtain some favor from the American consul, and that he was always able to detect them, much to their amazement. The one place at which everyone betrayed himself was in the use of the word "been," which Americans pronounced like "b-i-n," and the English invariably like "b-e-a-n." The truth is that art or artifice can never perfectly take the place of experience in the use of words. The historical imagination may be possessed and cultivated to such a degree of perfection that one may faithfully reproduce the atmosphere and the color, but in the colloquial use of words no amount of study and cultivated skill can ever take the place of actual experience. The possibilities of variation in the use of words is so infinite that sooner or later art will invariably stumble and fall. Where there is no stumbling we may know of a certainty that we are dealing not with art, but with experience.

The Peruvians have a word for dry, upland pastures, "pampas," which has found such acceptance with Latin Americans that its use has spread over much of the arid land of South America, and has

made its entrance into other nations of people having intercourse with that part of the world as the most fitting name for this particular pasture land, and for no other. Egypt, also, has peculiar pasture lands, those among the luxuriant grasses of the swamp-lands along the Nile and the canals. The distinctive Egyptian name for that kind of pasture land was *'akhu*. The Hebrews in their hilly country have had five words for grass and reeds, *desha*, *halsar*, *yarek*, *'aseb* and *'asab*. These they use throughout the Old Testament. They had no need at home for such a distinctive word as the Egyptians employed, for they had no such pasture-lands. Even when they were carried into captivity and sat "by the rivers of Babylon," if they found need for such a word, it would be a Babylonian and not an Egyptian word which they would take up into the language. Yet in Pharaoh's dream, recorded in the Pentateuch (a story that is born in Egypt, grows up in Egypt and never quite loses sight of Egypt), the "meadow," in which the kine fed, is called by the Egyptian word *'ahku*, and in the book of Job, where are other marks of Egyptian association, when it is said, "Can the flag grow up without water?" the same Egyptian word is used; and nowhere else in the whole Bible is this word found. Was this art, or was it more probably experience?

(2) *Shesh* (Heb. *shĕsh*, "linen"). Linen was largely devoted to a sacred use in Egypt. The mummy cloth, large collections of which may be seen in many museums, has been found, upon the

most critical examination, to be every thread linen. For this "fine, white linen," of which the Bible speaks so often, the Egyptians had also a distinctive word, *shesh*, which has been transliterated into the Hebrew account of the Tabernacle ritual in the wilderness. What figures more conspicuously, indeed, in the Hebrew ritual than the "fine, white linen" of the Levitical priesthood? The Hebrew language had its own words for "linen," four in number: *bad*, *peshteh*, *sadin* and *'aitun*, which are used throughout the Old Testament. In one instance (Prov. VII. 16), in a book having no Egyptian associations, even when the linen of Egypt is mentioned it is called by a pure Hebrew word, *'aitun*. Yet the Egyptian word *shesh* is used thirty-eight times in the Bible, all but four of which occur in the Pentateuch, and of these four, one is distinctively of Egypt, two are in imagery drawn from the Tabernacle in which it would be natural to quote words used in the account of the Tabernacle; one only (Prov. XXXI. 22) has no Egyptian influence or association apparent.

Of these passages in the Pentateuch in which the word *shesh* occurs, one, Genesis XLI. 42, is assigned in the Documentary Theory to J (Oxford Hexateuch, II, 65), and thirty-three passages are assigned to P (Oxford Hexateuch, II, 119–143). How this word *shesh* escaped selection by the distinguished Oxford scholars as one of the distinctive marks of P is a mystery. Probably its Egyptian character was known to them and silence was the

better part of discretion. I fear that the mention of it now will not be likely to result in its being included among the lists of "marks" of P hereafter! It would have been a great stretch of the imagination to try to conceive of a scribe in the Northern, or in the Southern, kingdom of Israel in the 8th or 7th century B.C. using this Egyptian word instead of one of the Hebrew words for "linen;" but that anyone should be asked to believe that a scribe, a priest-scribe, of Babylon, during or after the Exile, should have used this Egyptian word instead of Hebrew words in thirty-three passages, or, if he wished to borrow a word, that he did not borrow a Babylonian word instead of an Egyptian one, is beyond all possible stretch of imagination. What a philologist P must have been! and what a pedant, to use such an inexplicable word for readers whom he was so anxious to impress favorably and lead to acceptance of his book, and yet without giving them a word of explanation of a term that confronted them at nearly every turn of the roll as they read it!

And how equally amazing it is that Ezekiel (XVI. 10) should have used this word, if, as is claimed, the P Document, including the account of the Tabernacle in Exodus and the Ceremonial Law in Leviticus, was not written until nearly a century later. On the other hand, how perfectly natural, on the face value of the Pentateuchal story, that the Pentatechal account of the Tabernacle, together with the Ceremonial law in Leviticus, was written by one learned in the wisdom of the Egyp-

tians, and for a people just escaped from 400 years' bondage in Egypt, that the author should have used this word; and how perfectly explicable that Ezekiel (XVI. 10), with the old Pentateuchal account of the Tabernacle and the Ceremonial law before him, should have used the same descriptive word for "linen" which he found there. At least the prophet would not have had to come back from glory to hunt up his priest friend P, to borrow this foreign word from him and ask him what it meant!

(3) The last and most interesting of all the witnesses to be examined on this subject is the word for the Nile (Heb. *ye'or*) Egyptian *'aur*, sometimes *'atur*, a "stream of water," hence a "river," and, specifically, "the Nile," the "river" of the land of Egypt (cf. Kyle, *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, pp. 164–67; also *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, art. River of Egypt).

Bayou is a provincial word in America belonging exclusively to the region of the lower Mississippi. In Louisiana, its home, it means simply "channel of water," and "the bayou" means the particular channel at hand. The ancient Egyptian language had also a word of very similar meaning and belonging as much to the Nile valley as this word "bayou" to the lower Mississippi. It was this word *ye'or* which is now under consideration. It meant a "channel for water" and was applied indiscriminately to the river and to the numerous canals and channels by which the water was conducted through

the land. It was not in any sense a proper name for the Nile, which the Egyptians called *Hapi*, but was a common noun like "bayou," which, upon becoming definite, meant, like "the bayou," simply "the particular channel at hand." Its use as thus described is very common in both Egyptian and Coptic, or late Egyptian. In exactly this same sense it was taken over into the Hebrew of the Old Testament and is used in both the singular and the plural, and has become, in the peculiarities of that use, one of the most important witnesses concerning Pentateuchal times.

Y^{e}'or occurs sixty-six times in the Old Testament. In but one of these passages (Dan. XII. 5–7), where the word is used four times, is there any doubt about its reference to Egypt. The passage in Daniel is in dispute. Some believe it to be a prophetic passage referring to Egypt, but the majority of commentators account it to be historical and not of Egypt. But, in any case, it follows upon an extended prophecy relating to Egypt, if, indeed, it is really *not* a part of that prophecy, and the use of the word here might easily be accounted for by the coloring of the context. The word is used in Daniel, and, without entering at this time into the question of the date of the composition of Daniel or the place from which it comes, there is nothing incredible in so important an Egyptian word as this being known even in Babylon, in the days of Daniel and used in one passage correctly. Besides, on the face value of the Pentateuchal records Daniel had them

before him. If Daniel were by a very late writer, then the P Document, at least, would be available. Aside from this passage, in all the other sixty-five passages in the Old Testament in which the word occurs, it is of the streams of Egypt. The Biblical writers no more think of using "y^{e}'or" of streams anywhere else than in Egypt than would American writers tell of "bayous" in New England. It might be said of some of these witnesses which have been introduced that they have had little to say, i.e., they have been words not often used by the Biblical writers; here on the other hand, is a word of very extended use, and a use wholly confined to those passages purporting to have Egyptian sources or associations.

But the significance of the testimony given by the word *y^{e}'or* is not fully seen until we observe the peculiarities of its use. The Hebrew has two words for "river'' or "stream," *nāhăr* and *năkhăl*, used exclusively in all those parts of the Bible not purporting to have relations with Egypt. *Y^{e}'or* is there very completely supplanted by these Hebrew words. So. also, in those books claiming relations with Egypt, these Hebrew words are of frequent occurrence, *but not of the streams of Egypt.* In the Pentateuch each of them occurs thirteen times, but not in a single instance of the streams of Egypt. When the writers refer to Egypt, they drop into the use of the word *y^{e}'or* just as naturally as an American writer into the use of "bayou" when referring to the lower Mississippi region. So strictly is this

distinction in the use of words observed that when mention is made of the little desert stream called the "river of Egypt," which was not an Egyptian stream at all, but marked the frontier, it is not called *ye'or*, but given the Hebrew name *năkhăl*. The one apparent exception to the strictly correct use of these words is not really an exception to the rule. The use of *nāhăr* in Exodus VII. 19, in the account of the plagues, is not really an exception, for the word is, in that instance, used generally in contrast with *ye'or* to distinguish between the flowing streams, *neharōth*, and the sluggish irrigation branches of the Nile, *ye'ōrim*, "canals" (cf. Isa. XIX. 6; XXXIII. 21). The word *ye'or* occurs 30 times but never of any other than the streams of Egypt.

There is thus a most exact discrimination in the use of these various words for "stream," a discrimination which is found alike in P, J and E of the Documentary Theory, and also where the redactor is supposed to have altered the documents. Such discrimination is scarely credible on the hypothesis that the Pentateuch is by more than one author in later than Mosaic times, or that it is by any author without Egyptian training. The Documentary Theory which requires these instances of the use of the various words for "river" to have been recorded by several different authors or redactors in different ages, and all several centuries after the Exodus, far away from Egypt and from opportunities for accurate knowledge of its language,

seems utterly incompatible with such discriminating use of these words. And even if the elimination of all mistakes be attributed to one person, a final redactor, the difficulty is scarcely lessened. As no purpose is served by this discriminating use of words, except the providential purpose of testifying to Pentateuchal times, it is evidently a natural phenomenon. In every instance of the use of the word *yᵉ'or*, one or other of the usual Hebrew words *năkhăl* or *năhăr*, would have served the purpose of the author, just as any foreign religious writer might speak of the "streams" of Louisiana though a Louisianian would call them "bayous." How does it come that the Hebrew writer uses *yᵉ'or*, where his native Hebrew words might have been used with equal appropriateness? Why never, where its appropriateness is even doubtful, not even saying *yᵉ'or* for *năkhăl* of the "brook of Egypt," it is not art, but experience, that gives such skill in attending to so small a thing in so extensive use without a single mistake (cf. *International Stand. Bib. Encyc.*, art., Brook of Egypt).

These three words which we have now examined all testify to the same point. The perfection in the peculiar colloquial use of common words, not proper names, to which art can never attain, and for which only actual association can account. Hawthorn's test in the colloquial use of words would catch a scribe in the days of Hezekiah or Josiah or the Exile or after it just as certainly as it caught the Englishmen at Liverpool sixty years ago. That

anyone should have imitated these colloquial and provincial peculiarities so perfectly at so great a distance, in days of so little intercourse or correspondence, is incredible, not to say inconceivable. "Romancers," "Historical Novelists," "Forgers," as you please, must have been skillful beyond the imagination of the heart of man to conceive to have attended to such a little thing over so wide a field of literature without a single mistake.

We have now seen these peculiarities of word, phrase and narrative in the Pentateuch which archaeology so illumines. The whole discussion may be gathered up in a single question: How came these peculiarities in the Pentateuch? Are they probably the result of art or more probably simply natural, that is to say historical? A natural brogue cannot be put on and off at will. A cultured, refined French gentleman once said to me, while laughing over the peculiarities of the English language, "Here I have been fifteen years in America and yet everybody knows that I am a Frenchman." I am myself of Scotch descent; I lived and labored for many years among many Scotch people. I have even been accused of a natural brogue and I verily thought that my Yankee tongue had gotten a real Scotch accent that could be used upon occasion. Alas, for the vanity of human conceit! In an evil hour I essayed to read a Scotch selection before some good ladies of my congregation who were Scotch to the manor born. I think they have hardly yet ceased to laugh over that episode. These ludi-

crous instances of real life reveal the deep-lying principle that art and acquisition can never perfectly take the place of life experience. And did some Jewish scribe with an inclination to religious romance in Palestine, or hired or persuaded by a designing priesthood in the days when Israel was a vassal or a slave of Assyria or Babylonia, and when intercourse with Egypt was jealously guarded, when, indeed, for centuries the experience of the Egyptian bondage kept alive by the passover feast had accustomed Israel to shrink from familiarity with the traditional oppressors, and at a time when the Egyptian language itself had changed as much as the English of Shakespeare's time has changed to the English of today, and when the archaeologists and philologists had not yet begun to add their assistance to the labors of the historian, yet at the instance of a designing priesthood, so trick out the Patriarchal narrative in the artistic realism of the present-day historical novel, and so note all these nice peculiarities of language, some of which we have been examining, that in not a single instance does his speech "betray" him?

These peculiar Hebrew words and phrases are found in the Egyptian language at a time corresponding to the time claimed for such influence by the Pentateuchal narrative, and in some instances belong to no other period of Egyptian history; and these Egyptian words and phrases which we have noticed are found, as we have seen, scattered throughout the documents of the Documentary Theory, some

of them even in portions introduced by the redactors. Collusion, on the Documentary Theory, is impossible over so many centuries, among people of so many different lands, so far distant from each other as Egypt, southern and northern Palestine and far away Babylonia. If the use of these peculiar words and phrases be not natural and so historical, only divine supervision could secure such exact adaptation of the use of foreign words in both the Pentateuch and in the Egyptian inscriptions as well. Is it for a moment believable that God loaned himself for the gratuitous furthering of such a scheme of literary trickery even for the pious end of aiding a divine revelation? God's providence may, indeed, incorporate the "wrath of man" and make it to serve him, but even pious knavery may not suborn the assistance of Providence. To me such a view of the case is incredible, and the only alternative is that these peculiar linguistic correspondences between the Hebrew and the Egyptian accredit the Pentateuchal records to the age and the circumstances of the events recorded.

LECTURE II

Light from Archaeology on the Literary Characteristics of the Books of the Law

The advance from the consideration of peculiar words, phrases, and narratives of the Pentateuch in the first lecture to the examination of the literary characteristics of the Books of the Law in this lecture needs to be carefully defined at the outset. The line of demarkation between philological and literary characteristics, always rather vague, is hardly clearer here than elsewhere; it is impossible to draw a straight, sharp line over which we may pass absolutely from the one to the other. In fact, some features of the Pentateuch are both philological and literary. It is only possible to classify them according to the element which, in the various instances, seems to predominate. In the evidence to be adduced in this lecture, literary qualities, those qualities that do not so much lie imbedded in the language employed, but proceed from the rhetorical methods and habits of the author and from the contributing influences of subject, occasion, and providential purpose, seem to predominate.

That the line of argument may at all times be apparent throughout the presentation of the varied evidence whose homogeneousness is not always superficially manifest, that which is to be proved

may best be stated now at the outset in the following general thesis: The Pentateuch, including the portion which modern Old Testament criticism has dominated P and has assigned to a late date under Babylonian influence of long standing, is written not at all in Babylonian literary style, but with marked Egyptian characteristics; Egyptian idioms are here and there reflected, the general archaeological indications of the Pentateuch itself are Egyptian or western Asian, and the influence of Egyptian order of ideas in the sentence is reflected rather than any influence of Babylonian syntax and rhetoric. The categorical statement of this thesis before the evidence that sustains it, gives an erroneous impression that this is a very vague and remote subject upon which no conclusiveness will be attainable. Such preconceived opinion will meet the fate of most hasty impressions. While some of the items of the evidence, standing alone, seem somewhat inconclusive, they will find their places as links in a complete chain.

A single question calls for preliminary consideration. It is again the question of the original of the Pentateuch. Is not the thesis just propounded utterly inconsistent with the possibility of a cuneiform original of the Pentateuch? Well, suppose it is. The theory of a cuneiform original is not finally established—at least not to the satisfaction of everybody—though it is plausible, and I am inclined to think it correct. Then consistency is not the aim of the true spirit of research, which seeks the truth

whether it be consistent with opinions already held to be true or not. Nor is the effort toward consistency ever a very high aim; it perpetuates all our mistakes by warping the new truth to make it fit into the old error. Besides, what we deplore as inconsistency *may be only our own ignorance*. Things that are true are consistent whether we see the consistency or not. Whatever is is possible. Consistency is not infrequently exploited as an index to the truth. We might more safely seek the truth and leave consistency to take care of itself. When we have found all that *is*, we will find that all is consistent, whatever may have been our fears. For relief at this point, it may be observed that this which may seem to some rather iconoclastic philosophizing will find exact illustration and confirmation in the evidence about to be presented. We will be glad to have sought after the truth, leaving consistency to the eternal order among truths, where it properly belongs, and where, also, we will find it. For when finally the facts are before us, it will be seen that a cuneiform original in Canaanite Babylonian would not be in the least inconsistent with the view that the Pentateuch, including the portions assigned by critics to P, is written not at all in Babylonian literary style, but with marked Egyptian characteristics and is also closely assimilated to the style of the Babylonian cuneiform of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets.

The Pentateuch would be written either in Hebrew, i.e., Canaanite, in Egyptian, or in Baby-

lonian. These alternatives need not be argued as they will not be disputed. If the Pentateuch was written in Hebrew in the wilderness, it would be written under Egyptian influences; if written in part and compiled in part and with interpolations, in Babylonia in the Exile period or somewhere afterward, it would be written under Babylonian influences; if written in Canaan in the middle of the national period, in Hebrew, it would be comparatively free from immediate foreign literary influences that would be reflected in the style. What its peculiarities would be we shall presently discover. Now a language written or spoken in a foreign country by residents long there is sure to reflect something of the literary qualities of the language of that land. This is especially true if it be subjected to such influences just at the time when it is becoming a literary language. Familiar illustrations are the Americanized patois of Creole French and German-Americans. If written in its own land a language is usually free from such foreign influences. With these fundamental principles in mind we may proceed with the investigation.

I. Egyptian idioms in Pentateuchal Literature. A multitude of these idioms have been pointed out by various investigators. We will adhere to the rule already stated of leaving the plausible, though uncertain, to the one side and considering only the most obvious.

1. Mizraim (Heb. *mĭtsrăīm*). Mizraim is the Hebrew name for Egypt; but, strange to say, is

found in this dual form in no other Semitic language. It occurs rarely in the singular in the Aramaic. The modern Arabic *Musr* has also lost the dual peculiarity, if it ever had it, and, besides, may be too modern to be admitted here for comparison. There must be some special reason for this dual form of the name for Egypt appearing in the Hebrew alone, as there is for the name Dutch for the people and language of Holland apearing among English-speaking people only.

Mizraim is in the dual in the Hebrew. Its root meaning is an "enclosure," and hence, in the dual, "a double enclosure." This has been the usual view of lexicographers. Professor W. Max Muller preferred to regard it as a locative (following E. Meyer, *Ges. Ae. I*, Second, 42, cf. *Ency. Bib.*). But this opinion, written some years ago, could not take into account the recent discovery to be presented in this discussion, which tends to confirm it as a real dual. This name for Egypt occurs also in the singular, *mătsŏr*, three times in later Hebrew, 2 Kings XIX, 24; Isa. XIX, 6; XXXVII, 25 (cf. Heb. and R. V.).

This word has a good Hebrew etymology, from a root *mātsăr*, not used in the Hebrew of the Bible, but appearing in the same sense in the Arabic *masr*, hence the word is probably not a transliteration from the Egyptian. As it is in the dual and so intended to represent some dual conception of Egypt, it must represent either a Hebrew description of some natural phenomenon or some custom-

ary representation of the Egyptians or the translation of some Egyptian name in the dual. The Egyptians had such a dual name for the land, *taui*, meaning "double land," but Mizraim is neither a transliteration nor translation of it. The name "double enclosure" does not seem to be the description of any natural phenomenon in Egypt; no such natural phenomenon is known. When we turn to the other alternative, that the word is a Hebrew description of some customary representation of Egypt among Egyptians, more success awaits us. Egypt was always a double land, the north and the south, the land of the lotus and the land of the papyrus. An inscription has been found by Professor Naville which makes mention of the worship of a goddess of the north and uses for determinative of "north" an Egyptian hieroglyphic for an enclosure. No instance of the use of the "enclosure" as determinative with south has yet been discovered. Now, remembering that Egyptian writing always made a special appeal to the eye, was above all picturesque, and that the Hebrews were specially in contact with the north, *Mitsraim* becomes at once an exact Hebrew description of Egypt. From this use of the determinative, an "enclosure," it probably was used to denote the south also, but whether it was or not, Egypt, a dual land, becomes naturally in the Hebrew *Mitsraim*, the "double enclosure."

Such a Hebrew name for Egypt must have originated in contact with Egypt. Only such familiarity with Egypt as Hebrew people among all Semitic

peoples had, according to the Pentateuchal story, can account for the selection of this word. For, though the Hebrew translation is a late one, this name must have been in the original as the Hebrew name for Egypt transliterated into the cuneiform, or whatever method of writing was used in the original Pentateuch. It is inconceivable that anyone without contact with Egypt should have originated such a name or should have received it from the Hebrew tongue round about him; it is equally inconceivable that such a name should have originated with the Hebrews in Canaan, as required by the Documentary Theory which attributes this name to each of the principal documents (Oxford Hexateuch, II). Neither is it reasonable to suppose that such a writer would have resorted to such a nicety of topographical idiom in order to make an original name that would have to be explained to everyone around him, nor could such a name persist among Hebrew people in a far distant land to a late date unless written down from the beginning. The use of this word is a literary characteristic of the Pentateuch which Egypt herself must have contributed, and that through just such an Israelite sojourn in that land as is recorded in the Pentateuch.

2. *Matteh* (Heb. *măttĕh*, Gen. XLVII, 31). In the received text and in the revision this passage is translated, "And he said, swear unto me. And he swear unto him. And Israel bowed himself upon the head of the bed." The LXX have translated

the latter part of the passage, "*'epi tò 'akrŏn tēs 'rábdou áutoū*," i.e., "upon the head of his staff," and the LXX is exactly followed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, XI, 21, which quotes the same Greek words.

The Papyrus Abbott has a long, detailed account of the judicial investigation of the case of certain alleged tomb robbers. In this legal account of the case occurs the record of the administering of the oath to witnesses. The formula closes with the Egyptian words *didi her tepi chet*, literally "given upon the head of the wood." The Egyptian in this case is very simple grammatically and graphically, but enigmatic in its exact meaning. Whatever does "given on the head of the wood" mean? Lieblein understands it to mean that the oath was taken on the head of the staff of the officer (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1898). This would yield a suitable meaning whether it denoted a literal act or merely the declaration that he did so, i.e., made submission to the authority of the officer. Pierret thinks, and with some good reason, that the Egyptian might well be translated, "impaled upon the head of a stake." The whole formula in the Egyptian was that he should be "mutilated, his nose and his ears, given upon the head of the wood" (*Dictionaire Hieroglyphic*, p. 404–405; cf. also, Chabas, *Melanges Egyptologique* III, T. I., p. 80). That is, the penalty of the oath, according to this translation of Pierret, was that "his nose and his ears should be cut off and that he should be impaled upon a stake." This

seems a reasonable interpretation; but this was not a common method of punishment in Egypt as it was among the Assyrians. Breasted (*Ancient Records*, p. 259) translates the Egyptian thus: "Mutilated, his nose and his ears, and put upon the rack," regarding the phrase "upon the head of the wood," as an euphemistic expression for putting to the torture of the rack.

It is perfectly evident that the Masoretes had no longer any knowledge of the Egyptian method of the taking of the oath when they pointed this word in the Hebrew to read *mĭttăh* "bed." It is reasonably certain that the LXX in Egypt about 270 B.C. (*International Stand Bib. Encyc.*, 2724) would still have knowledge of the ancient formula. So that, while either of the suggested translations of the Egyptian would satisfy the requirements of the language, the exact meaning of the technical expression is probably given in the LXX, "given on the head of the staff," i.e., leaning or bowing upon the head of the staff of the officer who administered the oath.

The important outcome of this examination, however, is that the original writer of Genesis understood perfectly the Egyptian custom of administering the oath, and that the people for whom he wrote also so thoroughly understood the custom that he felt under no necessity of giving the formula in full, indicating it only by the expression, "given upon the head of the staff." Was such brevity of forms used in writing to a people far away from

contact with Egyptian life and by a writer himself unfamiliar with Egyptian law and customs? Is such an abbreviation believable of anyone except some one familiar with Egyptian customs and writing to a people equally familiar with them? Yet we are asked to believe that this passage was the work of J in Palestine about the 8th century B.C., when about 500 years of Palestinian life full of fears and jealousies of Egypt separated them from the language and customs of that land (Oxford Hexateuch, II. 74).

3. "I am" and "Jehovah" (Heb. *'ehyeh* and *y^ehovah*, or, as probably correctly transliterated, *yahweh*). In Exodus III, 13–14, it is recorded, "And Moses said unto God, behold, when I come unto the children of Israel and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." A little later it is recorded (Ex. VI, 2–3), "And God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am the Lord; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty (Heb. *el-shăddăi*), but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known unto them" (cf. also Ex. V, 1–2 and 22). The critical wrangle over this expression, "By my name Jehovah was I not known unto them," is entirely aside from the evidence now being examined and will be passed over without further notice.

Here, only the declaration that the Covenant name was Jehovah needs to be considered. This, then, was, in fact, the name of God in which Moses was to speak unto Israel and unto Pharaoh. "And the people believed; and when they heard that the Lord Jehovah had visited the children of Israel and that he had looked upon their afflictions, then they bowed the head and worshipped." And afterwards (Ex. V, 1–2 and elsewhere) the divine name which God had put into possession of Moses to use with Israel and with Pharaoh, and which he actually did use in speaking both with the Israelites and with Pharaoh was the name Jehovah. It is evident then that the expression "I AM" (Heb. *'ehyeh*), when God said to Moses, "Thou shalt thus say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you," was not a name but an explanation. It was an explanation to be made in Egypt, and so an explanation needed in Egypt and to be understood in Egypt. *And this is true no matter when this account was written.* If it should be conclusively proved and universally conceded that the account was written in the 8th or the 7th century B.C., about the middle of the national history of Israel, it is still the manifest intention of the writer that this explanation of the name Jehovah was for Egypt.

Moreover, no satisfactory sense can be attached to the explanation, if it be confined to the Hebrew. Jehovah does not mean "I am." Though the two words in the Hebrew are different forms of the verb

"to be," as will be presently considered, the one is not a verbal equivalent of the other. Any explanation intended for the Hebrew tongue would have been more grammatically discriminating. Whatever it was intended to mean as an explanation was, then, not only to be in Egypt, and for Egypt, but in the Egyptian tongue, intended to convey a message to people in that land and knowing that tongue. How did God expect this message to be understood in Egypt? As it was for Egypt, unless intelligible to Egyptians it would not reach the people as intended. If it can be seen to be intelligible in Egyptian, we may then not only understand this explanation of the name Jehovah, but understand also when such literary influences of Egypt upon the record of these events are likely, and at what time in the career of Israel such an account might be given to the people without explanation and yet with the manifest expectation that they would understand perfectly that which is so mysterious to us now.

It is well known that the current English pronunciation of the Covenant name of God, Jehovah, is a conglomerate composed by pronouncing the consonants of the ineffable Covenant name with the vowels of the Hebrew divine name *'adōnai*—sometimes *'elōhim*. The Jews wrote these vowels underneath to indicate that, in reading, *'adōnai* was to be substituted for the Covenant name, Jehovah, which was considered too holy to be pronounced. In the English tongue there was adopted the ridicu-

lous expedient of pronouncing the ineffable name, Jehovah, with the vowels of the substitute. As a word in any language means what the people using it understand it to mean, exactly that and nothing more nor less, this word Jehovah has come to be really the English equivalent of the Covanent name of God. It is now as pedantic to insist, in popular discourse, on a scientific pronunciation of the Covenant name as it would be to try to have English-speaking people say *yitshak* for Isaac, *ya'qob* for Jacob, or for that matter, to say Livorno instead of Leghorn and Firenza instead of Florence. But, for this study, we must, if possible, arrive at some close approach to the correct pronunciation of the covenant name. The concensus of opinion among the best Semitic scholars is that *yahweh* is the correct pronunciation of the Covenant divine name. Remembering the pictographic, as well as phonetic, character of the Egyptian writing which appealed to the eye as well as to the ear and so affected the thinking of the people, their conception of things, we may ask, How could such a word be conveyed to Egyptian eyes and ears? by translation or by transliteration, i.e., phonetic equivalency?

The exact pronunciation of the ancient Egyptian language is involved in more of mystery than the pronunciation of ancient Hebrew. The attempt to know the pronunciation of both Egyptian and Hebrew words and then to compare these in sound with each other evidently involves much of complexity and difficulty, yet the result in this case is

rather startling. If we follow not the dogmatic and arbitrary, ultra-semitic, school of Berlin, but the more rational, and hence more natural, method of the French school of Egyptologists led by the great Maspero at its head (cf. *Recueil de Traveaux*, 1910–1918), the Egyptian phrase "I am" is "*aua*." Is this then what God meant when he said, "Tell them *yahweh* hath sent you?" explaining the name by the phrase "I am," in Egyptian "*aua?*" Was the name thus to be understood by transliteration? If one might ever safely follow a theory unconfirmed by historical evidence, this might seem to be such a case. But when we insist upon evidence of the correctness of the theory, it must be said that there is no known use of the expression "I am," in Egyptian "*aua*," as a divine name. To us it would seem not only possible, but most probable, that though they never so used the expression, they would immediately grasp the significance of it and receive the message that the great "I AM" had sent this Moses. But some things did not seem to the Egyptians as they seem to us, and this, it is to be feared, is one of them. The Egyptians had very few words to express abstract ideas and did not readily grasp abstract meanings. The human mind only *learns* abstract expression of ideas, and the method of Egyptian writing being, of all scripts in the world, the most pictographic, was constantly cultivating concrete expression of thought and discouraging all abstract thinking. It is this figurative method of writing, and hence of thinking and speak-

ing, that, more than anything else, makes it difficult to understand Egyptian. Thus, that *yăhwĕh* was to be understood as "*aua*," "I am" in Egyptian, while not impossible, is most improbable, and especially so, if a better significance of the divine message can be given in Egyptian.

There are but two possible ways of conveying this divine message to Egypt, for Egypt and in Egyptian; if it was not by transliteration, then it must have been by translation. In that case God's message would mean, Go tell the Egyptians in Egyptian that the "existent one" the divine being, of whom the Egyptians recognized so many manifestations, has sent me. In that case, the Hebrew of the account should give an example of translating the essential idea of the divine name Jehovah into another Hebrew word or expression. *Yăhwĕh* is the hiphil future of the verb "to be," which has in it a caustive significance, "the Becoming One;" thus in Hebrew the "Self-existent One," in our form of abstract expression, "The First Great Cause." The explanation, "I AM," suggests this by falling back upon the fundamental idea of "existence" which is at the root of the name *yăhwĕh*. But how would this idea be conveyed to the Egyptians? Most easily and simply; and probably it was to this ease and simplicity of translation that the Hebrew explanation looked.

The Egyptian word *Khepher* denoted the scarabaeus, the ordinary "tumble bug" of our American roadways in summer. As entomologists the Egyp-

tiansre garded the *khepher*, the scarabaeus, as unisexual, and hence self-reproductive, and so self-existent. For this reason the little models of the beetle became to the Egyptians the symbol of the hope of immortality, and multitudes of them were placed in the tombs with the bodies of the dead. For like reason the word *khepher*, in the plural of abstractness, like the plural of majesty of the Hebrew, *Khepheru*, was used to denote God, the great Self-existent One, who caused himself and all other being; as we who generalize so much would say, "The First Great Cause." This was the nearest approach of the Egyptians to the conception of the true God. The word did, indeed, express that idea, or does so to our minds, though the Egyptians do not seem to have grasped it fully, and certainly did not allow it to enter fully into their religious life. The word in this sense is not of frequent occurrence in Egyptian literature, but it does occur, and especially at the Exodus period of Egyptian history (cf. Pierret, *Dictionaire Hieroglyphique*, p. 418; Brugsch, *Egyptische Worter-buch*). This word is the one word in Egyptian for the Great Being who is self-existent and thus the First of all Being. God's message, as thus translated into Egyptian, would be, "Go tell the Egyptians that I am *Khepheru*, the Self-existent One, the First Great Cause." This exactly agrees with the revelation which God made of himself in the Wonders in Egypt to prove to the Egyptians and to all the world for all time his being and his supremacy in all his attributes.

Thus either by transliteration or by translation, but most probably by the latter, God's message not only could be conveyed to the Egyptians, but would find most natural and forceful expression in that language, so that such a message with such a meaning would need no further explanation to Moses by whom it was sent, nor to the Israelites in Egypt, nor to the Egyptians themselves than is given to Moses, and no further explanation written down in the Pentateuch at the time of the Exodus for a people just come out of Egypt. But how are we to believe such Egyptian literary influence, carrying with it such knowledge of Egyptian idiom and theology, not only in the writer, but on the part of his readers, to be possible in Palestine in the 7th century B.C. or later (E^S, R^{JE} and R^P, as required by the Documentary Theory, Oxford Hexateuch, II. 83). Even if a scribe should have known these things, what sense would there be for one, in attempting to instruct the people and lead them along the way of new religious ideas, to put what would be to them such jargon in the very foundation statement, the announcement of the divine name? Does not rather such idiomatic Egyptian influence in this and the preceding idioms reveal distinctly Egyptian literary influence and that at the very period at which Israel came out of Egypt?

II. Another class of evidence that throws light upon the literary characteristics of the Pentateuch is found in the archaeological conditions before and after the time of the Exodus. These conditions are

distinctly favorable for the composition of the Pentateuch under Egyptian influence in Mosaic times. If there was a Hebrew original of the Pentateuch, then the time of the composition and the literary conditions surrounding it are inseparably bound up with the origin of the Phoenician alphabet, the mother, not only of all Semitic alphabets, but of all other historic alphabets. If, on the other hand, there was a cuneiform original, then the Pentateuchal problem is equally bound up with the history of Babylonian cuneiform in Western Asia. Also, in any case, the elements for any early composition of the Pentateuch are dependent upon the history of the development of laws and law-codes. For the "judgments" were characteristically "judgings," as the Hebrew word *mĭshpătīm* indicates, which is archaeological intimation of a long procession of decisions of judges, grown into a body of common laws, which were authorized of God and so became in the Pentateuch the laws of God. And codes, also, are such systematic arrangement of laws as implies a long process of preparation in the people that are able to receive and use them, if not also in the people through whom they were given form. So the archaeological conditions before and after the time of the Exodus which throw light upon the Pentateuchal question require examination along these three lines just indicated.

1. The origin of the Phoenician alphabet. At a recent meeting of the American Oriental Society, Professor Breasted presented most conclusive arch-

aeological evidence, from a study of early Phoenician archaeology, that the Phoenicians in the earliest times of their writing used Egyptian papyrus and Egyptian reed pens. When the evidence was clearly before his audience, the Professor asked this pertinent question, "Would not a people get their first writing materials from the people from whom they learned to write?" The well-known theory of De Rougé, that the Phoenician alphabet was of Egyptian origin, long disputed, has thus now, in its main thesis, the support of this most suggestive piece of archaeological evidence.

De Rougé's theory not only accorded with the views of the ancients, but was a strictly scientific piece of legitimate speculation, starting from known facts, proceeding in the direction indicated by the facts, and never transcending possible compatibility with them. By such methods he found Egyptian characters in the Hieratic, the cursive system of hieroglyphics used among the Egyptian priests, from which, by strictly epigraphic methods, he showed the natural development of the Phoenician letters. He did his work so accurately that nearly the whole learned world went over to his opinion for a time. Then arose German scholarship and the world's blind adoration of it that now seems so strange, and it became the fashion to ridicule De Rougé's theory and research. A variety of fanciful and mechanical theories of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet were evolved. Latterly, even before the world war opened the eyes of the world to the

iconoclastic philosophy that had undermined nearly all German thinking, opinion began to swing decidedly back again toward the Egyptian origin of the alphabet, a view which the work of Professor Breasted cited above so emphasizes. Continental scholars also began to break away from the mechanical speculations of the Germans. The history of the conflict of opinions is most concisely presented by Professor Zerbe in his excellent work on *The Antiquity of Hebrew Writing and Literature* (pp. 139 ff.), and together with it should be noted the later trend toward acceptance of the Egyptian origin of the Phoenician alphabet, as indicated by the suggestion of Professor Breasted given above.

The one essential thing that De Rougé lacked was an historical instance of the use of such alphabetic group of Hieratic characters as that from which he derived the Phoenician alphabet. This he did not find either in Egypt or in Phoenicia. That which indicates such historical use, I had the pleasure to discover in Egypt in 1900. A scribe, who placed within a coffin from Asyut of the XI dynasty a long funeral inscription in conventional hieroglyphics, used also in his writing a set of hieratic characters in the very best style of that, the best, period of hieratic writing. He used these characters exactly as many students, in taking notes, use a small list of shorthand characters which they have learned in order to facilitate their writing.

Of the twenty-one alphabetic prototypes which E. De Rougé, selected from the Egyptian hieratic

of the Old Empire as prototypes of the Phoenician alphabet, thirteen are found in use by this scribe in the fully developed and final hieratic form. Two others, the "lioness" and the "mouth," are found in transitional form. Two, the "tongs" and the "knee," are uncertain; and four, the "crane," the "duck," the "owl" and the "lasso," are not found. In the work of identification the two certainly transitional forms, the "lioness" and the "mouth," may be added to the thirteen which are fully developed, making in all fifteen, out of the twenty-one letters. Of the four not found, the "crane," the "duck," the "owl" and the "lasso," and the two not certainly identified, the "tongs" and the "knee," the inscription employs the "crane" and the "owl" regularly in the hieroglyphic forms, though sometimes slightly conventionalized, and the "duck" as a letter, is of comparatively infrequent occurrence in the inscriptions. Moreover, the "tongs," the "lasso," the "knee," the "crane" and the "owl," being, in their hieroglyphic forms or with some abbreviation, well adapted to cursive writing, would naturally, from the very ease with which they were made, be the last for which the scribe would seek an easier form for writing.

Thus it is just these six letters of De Rougés' alphabet here wanting which, at first glance disappointing, come to be most significant and helpful. Were all the letters found, the inscription would tell us far less, for no one could tell how long they had been in use. Were only a few found, it

would be more disappointing, for no one could tell how long it would take to complete the development of the hieratic alphabet. But since all the letters, but these six, are found and five of these are those which, because of the ease with which the hieroglyphic forms were made in cursive writing, would naturally be among the last for which the scribe would seek easier forms, and the sixth letter one of very infrequent occurrence, it is evident we are here not very far from the birth of the hieratic prototype of the Phoenician alphabet. This scribe's use of just these characters and no other hieratic characters, shows that there was in existence a list of hieratic characters corresponding very closely to the needs of the Phoenician alphabet. Here then is an historical instance of the use of a list very closely corresponding to De Rougé's list of prototypes of the Phoenician alphabet and we seem to be looking upon a time very near the birthday of that alphabet. The date of this coffin is uncertain, but cannot well be later than 2250 B.C. (cf. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 64).

Hebrew, like any other language, became a literary language when it received an alphabet. Whether the Pentateuch or, indeed, any other important works were actually written in Hebrew at an early time or not, it could have been so. At least 800 years had elasped since the invention of the Phoenician alphabet at the time that Moses lived, almost as long a time, though with far less facilities for literature, as from the beginning of English litera-

ture after the Conquest until the present time. Whether or not the Phoenician script was used thus early for religious texts, i.e., for sacred writing, epigraphically *it was entirely possible*. Thus also a Hebrew original of the Pentateuch at the time of the Exodus under Egyptian influences was, from the literary point of view, entirely possible.

2. The Tel el-Amarna tablets. If, on the other hand, there was a cuneiform original of the Pentateuch, the history of Babylonian cuneiform in western Asia not only is compatible with such an original of the Pentateuch, but, indeed, adds much to the probability of it.

In 1888, at the modern Egyptian village of Tel el-Amarna, about forty-five miles north of Asyut, Doctor Murch, of the American Mission in Egypt, found, in the hands of some natives, a lot of cuneiform tablets. A peasant woman had gathered them to pulverize and spread upon her garden-beds. How many like them she had already grown into leeks and onions it gives even science the cold shivers to imagine. Doctor Murch at once perceived the possible value of these tablets and reported their discovery to the British Museum, and so the scientific world, instead of the vegetable market at Tel el-Amarna, received the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In the main, so far as it concerns us in this discussion, these tablets were official correspondence of Palestinian provinces of Egypt with the suzereign government of Egypt under Amen-Hotep III and Amen-Hotep IV. They were written in the

Canaanite dialect of the Babylonian tongue and in the cuneiform script.

When the exclusiveness of the Egyptians and their antipathy to foreigners and all their ways—a nation almost as hermit-like as Japan before the days of Perry—is taken into the account, this instance of correspondence between the Egyptian home government and a province becomes most significant. It means that Babylonian cuneiform was so much the language and script of Palestine for important documents that even the haughty and exclusive Egyptian court must permit correspondence by its own officials with the home government to be through this medium. What is written in government matters must be read and replied to. Hence a knowledge of the Babylonian cuneiform was a part of the education of officials of the Egyptian government about a century and a half before the Exodus. Anyone contemplating literature for a people going to Palestine from Egypt, there to dwell and become a great nation, would certainly write in the Babylonian tongue in the dialect used in Palestine for correspondence and in the cuneiform script, as certainly, indeed, as the new constitution for Egypt in the after-war times will be written in classic Arabic, the literary language of Egypt, and not in the Daritch of the people. It is for this reason that archaeologists generally, since the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, have believed in a cuneiform original for all documents prepared for Israel at the time of the

Exodus and in expectation of their entrance upon the Promised Land.

3. Another element in the archaeological conditions that make favorable place and opportunity for the composition of the Pentateuch under Egyptian influences in the Mosaic age is supplied by the discovery of the Code of Khammurabi, and also the early Sumerian ritual. Before these discoveries, the situation was far different.

Systems of law are a growth. Even though they may be promulgated in a given place suddenly, they do not be embraced by the life of a people so as to become, in fact, *their law*, except by a long process, that they may be morally and spiritually apprehended by the people. Until that process does its work, the people are really under other laws than those promulgated for them. It was easy to argue theoretically that years and centuries of Semitic history lay back of the wilderness period, to say nothing of the four centuries of contact with the great judicial system of Egypt, but, before the discovery of the Code of Khammurabi, no actual historical example of such Codes among other Semitic people, or among Egyptians, could be produced. The discovery by de Morgan in December, 1901, January, 1902, at Susa, of the Code of Khammurabi completely changed all this. Careful examination of the monument and the Code soon showed that this was no heterogeneous collection of regulations, but one of the most systematic codes of laws ever promulgated, as may be seen clearly, almost at a

glance, by examination of the analysis given to the world by Professor Lyon of Harvard (*Journal American Oriental Society*, 1914, vol. XXV, pp. 248–265). While it is now generally admitted, even by radical scholars, that there is no historical dependence of the Code of Moses upon the Code of Khammurabi, yet the latter gives assurance of systematic law among Semitic peoples about 600 years before the promulgation of the Code of Moses according to the claims of the Pentateuch itself; *six centuries*, during the first two centuries of which, in the age of the patriarchs, the antecedents of the Israelite nation had been under these laws of Khammurabi.

Of like significance is the discovery of the early Sumerian temple ritual by Professor Langdon, in which it is found that even at the time of the promulgation of these ritual laws, unknown centuries before the time of Khammurabi who was still 600 years before Moses, there was among the Sumerians, the historical predecessors of the Semitic Babylonians, a ritual that embraced every feature of forms of worship that has ever been in use among any people, Biblical or heathen, from that day to this; all the sacrifices, all the genuflections, all the processions, all the incensing, the prayers, the singing, the order, everything that has ever been in the rubrics of religious worship in any subsequent age.

Thus, by the existence of this code of laws and this ritual among antecedents of the Israelite people, there is produced that background of discipline of mind and life, that cultivation of habits of obedi-

ence to directions given, that atmosphere of legalism and sacerdotalism, which provides exactly those conditions required by the most rigid demands for development of the disposition to yield obedience to laws promulgated which is needed for the acceptance by Israel of the "judgments" of law and the "statutes" of ritual approved of God as suitable for the life of a holy people, together with the additional "judgments" and "statutes" and "commandments" added to make complete his laws.

The literature of the Pentateuch demands just such antecedents as are here seen and to provide which many Old Testament critics have mistakenly claimed it to be necessary to go forward many centuries in history to a late date in the career of Israel. Moreover, these conditions under which Israel had grown up not only prepared them to hear the promulgation of the laws of God, ready to receive them as their laws and *begin*, not perfect, that application and practice of those laws which did not reach its full emergence in national life and religion in the wilderness (the Pentateuch gives a record of law, not of life), nor in the time of the judges (the record of that period is a record of the life of a people, not of their laws), but not until the times of the Monarchy, when the life of the people reached such a conformity to the laws of the Pentateuch that there emerged the glory of the national life and the spirituality of the temple service and the Psalmody of David.

III. Coming on down the history of Israel, it is found that the archaeology of the Bible itself, and especially of the books of the Law, points to the same Egyptian literary influence in Mosaic times that the archaeological conditions which we have just examined supply. In the first lecture there has already been presented some peculiar words, phrases and narratives, isolated fragments which supply incidental evidence, like fluttering leaves which betray the season. But there are also archaeological indications in the Pentateuch itself of a more comprehensive and pervasive character which are yet equally incidental and beyond the reach of collusion or the skill of artificers.

1. There is descriptive matter which is to this day the best guide-book to the region from which the Pentateuch purports to come. Here is such description of route and experiences all along the way from the shades of Egyptian slavery at the beginning of Meremptah's reign and the call of Moses, through the wilderness journey by the caravan route of the springs and Sinai and on to the turning back from Kadesh Barnea in the fifth year of Meremptah, as described in the Israel stele, and the fifth year of Moses, according to the narrative in the Book of Exodus, as, when laid down on the land and compared with the Biblical story, is the best guide-book for the Bible student traveling in that region today. Such description calls for composition at or near the time, under Egyptian influences, and by one familiar with Egyptian history of that period and with Egyptian habits.

It would be interesting to see such a description of an oriental region and of oriental travel evolved out of the inner consciousness of a German critic, who had never been over the ground or in actual contact with oriental customs in an oriental atmosphere, informed even by all the reading possible in modern times, yet at five days' journey distant. Perhaps not any critic himself nor any of his acolites would be willing to take a journey with only that as a guide-book! And is it likely, or even possible that a scribe or scribes in northern or southern Palestine in the 8th or 7th century B.C., ten days' journey distant as travel was in those days, and others in Babylonia, two months' journey distant, in the 6th or 5th century B.C., could produce such a descriptive work that still later editors could, with scissors and paste, make into a scrap-book to constitute such a guide-book as that travelers could use it today and find it the best yet published! Yet the account of this wilderness life is divided by the Documentary Theory among J, JE, P and nearly all the little letters that dance attendance upon these capitals, r and h and s and "S O S!"

2. Then these books of the law, however composed, or when, were so composed as to contain the biography of a man. None of the supposed Documents have such a biography, but only fragmentary and incomplete notes. The whole Pentateuch has a whole biography. When the other portions of the books are eliminated to leave only the story of the man, it is found that the facts of that life are con-

secutive and properly progressive and complete, from the birth and romantic deliverance and adoption into the court of Pharaoh, forward through his exile and his family life in Midian, to his entrance upon the greatest merely human career when he went "over there" to humble the greatest military power of the age and make the world safe for a free people, and still onward through the reconstruction which only a great leader could give, to the career of a prophet, and a law-giver, and to be the type of the "coming one." He wrote also in a book, and left for the world, a record of these things. Moreover this is not a fragmentary, scrap-book biography, but a living, throbbing biography full of that vital spirit that in fact brings before us a colossal man, such as the world had never seen and never did see that could serve for such a model, until a "greater than Moses" appeared.

This biography of Moses is the binding-thread of the Pentateuch from the beginning of Exodus to the end of Deuteronomy, without disastrous breaks or disturbing repetitions. There are, indeed, silences; but they occur where nothing great or important in the narrative is to be expected, as during the quiet home-life in Midian. And there are, in the eyes of some, repetitions, so-called doublets; but they do not seem any more real than may be expected in any biography that is only incidental to the main purpose of the writer. Moreover, repetitiousness is characteristic of literature of that land and age. No man can break apart this narrative

of the books without putting into confusion this life-story; the one cannot be treated as independent of the other, any more than the narrative of the English Commonwealth and the story of Cromwell, or the story of the American Revolution and the career of Washington. That a work of fiction by one author, struck off at one time, might produce such a biography is quite conceivable; that a scrap-book made up of excerpts from authors living in lands far apart, whose lives extend over many centuries, should do so is not conceivable. The biography of Moses, as we have it, demands authorship in Mosaic times in close touch with Egypt and Egyptian affairs.

The schools of criticism that have sought to account for the Pentateuch in detail have not, as yet, been eminently and satisfactorily successful, and, if they were so, yet would their task be but half finished. There would be yet remaining to them the colossal, and as yet unattempted, problem of accounting for the phenomena of the Pentateuch as a whole in such a way as will be in harmony with the critical results upon the details. It seems a hopeless task to attempt this; *even this*. And when, side by side with these phenomena of the Pentateuch as a whole, are found the phenomena of archaeological history corresponding to description of routes and biography of a man in exact and harmonious parallelism, the criticism which postulates authorship in the Mosaic age is the only criticism that presents the essential element of adequacy

(*International Stand. Bib. Encyc.*, p. 2088; *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, Kyle, p. 252).

3. The unity of the system of Codes as they stand in the Pentateuch also attests the same Mosaic age in touch with Egyptian influences. I know what temerity would be needed in a critic to talk in these days about unity of the system of Codes in the Pentateuch. But, as an archaeologist, I dare assert, and will presently show, that there is exactly such unity of system of Codes as the archaeological conditions revealed by the Pentateuch require.

Unity can, of course, be given to a book at any time, *if it be written at one time.* Unity may also conceivably be given to a compilation from many documentary sources, *if the compilation be made at one time.* But a compilation that proceeds over a long period and involves the connivance, and, indeed, the collusion, of many editors and redactors, is a *literary growth;* such growth will not account for the system of Codes in the Pentateuch as it stands, much less a system that exactly accords with the archaeological conditions, not of the changing years through which the growth is supposed to have proceeded, but of one brief time at the beginning.

The narrative that is the binding-thread of the books represents Israel coming out of Egypt and entering upon a work of reconstruction under Moses. A nation was to be molded and a religion taught, established and equipped and thus the people given

the means of true national and spiritual life. The immediate historical demand, then, was for fundamental principles, simple and concise, a constitution; as in 1783, at Philadelphia, in the American nation, or in 1919 at Paris, for the World League of Nations. The Pentateuch presents us, first of all, such a constitution in the Decalogue. The next immediate need is for a brief code of civil and criminal laws and simple Directory for worship; and these we find exactly at that juncture recorded in Exodus XX, 22; XXIII, 19.

Next, the great work of organization and the instruction of the spiritual life of the people had imperative demands and so the house of worship and the ritual of worship and the ministers of worship were all provided for in long, descriptive, detailed directions and Code in Exodus XXV–XL and the whole book of Leviticus. The developing nation needed constant changes and additions and mitigations of law to meet moral growth and changing conditions, and in the book of Numbers we have such additions and changes during the long years of the wanderings, additions which completed, for the present, the criminal and civil Code and defined more clearly for the people the scope and spirit of the religious Code. Examples are found in the consecration of prophets by Moses (Nu. XI), the sin and punishment of Miriam (Nu. XII), the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (Nu. XVI), and the contest of the men of Israel with the Aaronic priesthood (Nu. XVII.).

Then, when all the wanderings and discipline were over and the progress of forty years brought the people to a higher stage of national life and religious experience, and they were about to enter into the Promised Land to a settled life of a national career, Moses, the statesman, made four addresses to the people as citizens explaining the laws, for he was still law-giver, and adapting them to the different stage of national life upon which they were about to enter, and above all, arousing a high order of religious enthusiasm. Thus we have what is called the Deuteronomic Code, but which is, in fact, a religious statesman's addresses to his people on their national laws and national life.

Now, all these various Codes, from the beginning to the end, are exactly in order, in progressive order, and the growth and progress is not mere literary growth in the record, but historical growth in the life and experience of the people; that is to say, simply natural growth. Will anyone dare to believe that the method of the historical novel was so perfectly developed in that age, more perfectly, indeed, than it is even in this age, that it could produce in conscious literary fiction through one author at one time, such a masterpiece as this? That such a thing could be produced by mere *unconscious literary growth* without conscious direction of competent unbroken authorship belongs only to the realm of absurdities! Only natural historical growth, i.e., authorship in the Mosaic age and thus in touch with Egyptian influences, can account for such a production.

4. The last of these suggestive elements of the archaeology of the Bible concerns the composition of the Pentateuch according to the Pentateuch itself and the archaeological conditions of the wilderness journey. The record itself bears upon it such patent indications of the archaeological conditions under which it was composed as, when carefully noted and collated, exactly tally with the archaeological conditions of that wilderness journey.

It is frequently recorded that "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the people." Sometimes the formula is abbreviated to "The Lord said unto Moses," or "Moses spake unto the people." In each case there follows a group of laws or instructions or exhortations. The usual method of lawgiving was thus oral, from the Voice and the thunder at Sinai to the long addresses of Moses to the people on the plains of Moab. Moses was first of all a *speaking* prophet. The clear indication of this is exactly in accord with the archaeological conditions of Israel's career in the wilderness. The people needed to be instructed; though it was a literary age, there is no reason to believe that all the people, especially a slave people, were able to read. Besides, they were refugees in the wilderness and necessarily writing materials and facilities would be very limited. Perforce nearly all the process of the education of the people in national life and in religion throughout two rising generations must be by the oral method, and so Moses, though he may have been one of the scholars of his age, was first of all *a speaking prophet.*

But Moses also wrote. Seven times it is said he wrote, or he was commanded to write, or others wrote at his command, and the command is recorded for us (Ex. XVII, 14; XXXIV, 27; XXXIX, 30; Nu. XVII, 2–3; Deut. X, 4; XXXI, 24). Sixty times there are indications of things being written. The same things that God spake unto Moses and commanded Moses to speak unto the people are actually recorded, and so recorded as to show that they are the record of oral teaching.

As Moses' oral method was so plainly by public addresses from time to time, so his writing method was as plainly journalistic. From the giving of the Law at Sinai onward to the addresses in the Plains of Moab, the books of the Law are a mingling of the incidents of the journeyings *in order* constantly interspersed with the record of the things that "Moses spake unto the people." As the narrative of events is journalistic, so every record of what "Moses spake unto the people" seems to be recorded at the place in the narrative at which he "spake unto the people." No other sensible reason is conceivable for breaking the laws up into fragments and interrupting a narrative to intersperse them through it.

The same journalistic method most naturally accounts also for the repetition of certain laws, as that of the Sabbath, the laws against homicide and concerning the treatment of servants, and other such laws in which, at the time, the people needed often to be instructed and exhorted. What is thus

to be expected is historically attested by the fact that, in a number of cases, what things "Moses spake unto the people" so plainly grew out of the events immediately preceding in the narrative that it is certain that the particular instruction given on that occasion was called out by the immediately preceding events. Such is hardly conceivable, except in the use of a journalistic method (note especially the case of Zelophehad's daughters, Nu. XXXVI). In other cases, the majority of instances, indeed, no immediate connection is apparent with the preceding or succeeding narrative, as is to be expected also. Certainly most of the oral instructions of Moses from time to time would not have any apparent immediate connection with the narrative, any more than a collection of a minister's sermons bears always the impress of current events, or even events in the life of the congregation. But some sermons are strictly timely, indicating the progress of his ministerial career among the events of his people. Just so Moses, as he "spake unto the people," gave a few addresses that grew out of current events, but most of them had no such immediate relation to daily life.

Once this journalistic character of the composition of the Pentateuch is clearly perceived, other features of the record become less perplexing. Not all the people could always be around the camp about the Tabernacle. The people were indeed "shepherds in the wilderness," which is most probably the real meaning of the words usually trans-

lated "wanderers in the wilderness" (Beecher, *Reasonable Criticism*). In any case, it is in accord with the fact; they *were* "shepherds in the wilderness." It is always and necessarily so with large flocks in the wilderness, that they be "wanderers." Pasturage will not otherwise support them. So Moses' audience for instruction was not always the same. But they all needed all the instruction, and especially instruction in certain religious institutions, as the Sabbath, and certain mitigations of common laws concerning homicide and servitude. Naturally, then, Moses' addresses had in them many repetitions, just as every preacher uses the same sermons before different audiences, and gives certain instructions frequently to the same people. If all the critics were pastors and obliged to reiterate certain lessons which the people are slow to learn, they would understand the archaeology of the Pentateuch better and not be so troubled over some repetitions in the daily teachings of Moses from time to time in the journeyings, and recorded as given, each in its place, in the journal of events.

Then, a second presentation of the Law will not be quite the same as the first. Here again the archaeological conditions of the time must be kept in mind. The modern system of quoting by reference was practically unknown among ancients. Books were not published in editions; each copy of a book was in effect a separate edition. No reference could be given that would hold good for any but one book. This was true of both tablets and rolls.

Besides, rolls were not suited to reference by column and line. The place desired might be forty feet away in the length of the roll; the inconvenience of finding the reference would be very great as compared with our reference to a paged book. Imagine one unrolling five to fifty feet of a roll and then rolling it again every time he wished to make a reference! The universal method of reference by writers and speakers down even to New Testament times was by free quotation. So Moses quoted himself: and was he not always still the law-giver in the two generations course of instruction and growth and progress? and so privileged to make changes as they might be needed? Certainly, then, there would be changes in the laws, as there actually are, and not only verbal changes arising from free quotation, but, also, changes toward better things for a higher civil and religious life. Nothing would have made the laws less believable of those times than absolute rigidity during the training and development for forty years. Such a condition would stamp the record as unhistorical. Moses' method of quoting himself and the changes he makes in the laws thus indicate the historicity of the record.

Thus the archaeology of the law books themselves from Sinai to the Plains of Moab, in comparison with the archaeological conditions of life in the wilderness, indicate that the record is journalistic, containing the principal events of the forty years together with the various most important instructions given by Moses from time to time and

entered in the journal at the time and the place at which they occurred. When the journey was finished this journal was finished and the books of the Law, including the four addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy, were finished substantially as we have them today. The archaeology of the books of the Law thus gives unimpeachable evidence of the composition of the Pentateuch in Mosaic times and so in close association with Egyptian influences.

We have now seen that there are Egyptian idioms in the Pentateuch, which at once suggest strong Egyptian influence and give visible, though limited, evidence of its effect; we have also seen that archaeological conditions up to the time of the Exodus and for a long time preceding that period made most favorable circumstances for the preparation of the Pentateuch in Mosaic times under Egyptian influences; and that the archaeology of the Pentateuch itself indicates such minute exactness of detail in routes, experiences and topographical notes, such orderly, symmetrical biography of a man, such unity and natural development of law and such precise indications of the method of the composition of the Pentateuchal books in keeping with the conditions of the wilderness life, as to lead us to expect to find striking indications in the general literary character of the books of the Law as will show that they were prepared under strong Egyptian influences in Mosaic times. We are now to see that, in fact, it is so; that the Pentateuch does display distinctly Egyptian literary characteristics, rather than Babylonian, and

that, too, even though it were originally written in the Canaanite dialect of the Babylonian tongue and in the cuneiform script.

IV. The literary style of the Pentateuch actually reflects exactly the Egyptian influence which the whole series of evidences just examined anticipates. Criticism has concentrated its attention almost wholly upon those elements of style which are expected to reveal authorship, ignoring, in large measure, those broader characteristics of style which reflect the more uniform and constant influences of times and literary environment, the influences which make it so easy to detect the English production of a French writer, though one know nothing of the style of the author, or still more to detect the French production of an American writer, though one has never seen anything of his in English. I was reading some years ago an archaeological article in *Recuil de Traveaux*. It was in French by a distinguished American archaeologist. I was reading the French, not translating it. Suddenly I stopped with the impatient exclamation, "What is the matter with this French?" I then translated a paragraph and found that the French rendered, in order as it stood, into perfectly good English sentences! Something very similar to this experience awaits anyone who will turn away from microscopic examination of subtle peculiarities which are supposed to reveal authorship in the Pentateuch and compare the general characteristics of its literature with the general characteristics of Egyptian literature, on the one hand,

and of Babylonian literature on the other hand. It will be possible, in public address, to make the comparison only in translations; but it will be quite satisfactory even in translation. It is evident that the value of such comparison is largely dependent upon the extent to which the translator has preserved the syntactical and rhetorical peculiarities of the original. Taking this into the account, I have used for the comparison translations which, in each case, are intended to preserve the peculiar order of words and clauses in the sentence.

Exodus XIV, 1–4, translated thus literally and in the order of the arrangement of ideas found in the Hebrew reads as follows: "And spake the Lord unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, they shall turn back and encamp before the face of Pi-Hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea. And will say Pharaoh of the children of Israel, entangled (are) they in the land, hath shut upon them the wilderness. And I will make strong the heart of Pharaoh and he shall follow after them and I will be honored upon Pharaoh and upon all his host. And shall know the Egyptians that I (am) Jehovah. And they did so."

Numbers XIV, 25 and 29, translated in the same manner, is as follows: "Tomorrow turn you and encamp for you the way of the Red Sea. In this wilderness shall fall your carcasses; and all of you that were numbered for all that you were numbered, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me."

With these passages from the Hebrew of the Pentateuch compare the following passage translated from the Egyptian. It is from Meremptah's account of the same events contained in the Israel tablet (*Six Temples at Thebes*, Petrie, Plate XIV, lines 26–27):

"Devastated is Tehennu, Kheta, peace; seized Canaan with every evil; led away is Asgelon, taken with Gezar; Yenoamam brought to naught; Israel destroyed, her seed is not; Khar (Palestine by the way of the Dead Sea) is become as widows for Egypt."

To this may be added, as further illustration of the Egyptian order of ideas in the sentence, the following extract from the tablet of Nebuaiu, in the reign of Thothmes III, XVIII dynasty (*Archaic Classics, Egyptian Texts*, Birch, pp. 25–27):

"Given by favour of majesty royal king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ra-men-khepher (Thothmes III) living forever! to the divine person of Osiris Nebuaiu who says I dedicated works numerous in the house (of my) father Osiris of silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, gems all, noble; were these entirely under seals mine. He knew (that) I worked well for him the heart, I was making the craft of my lord by guarding the house of the father. I was reaching blessing, I was having the favours of majesty the king. Called was I to house of gods, made my place among its chiefs; stretched were my legs in the place sacred; I was annointed with head-oil; flower-crowns at my neck, as gave the king to his favoured. Re-

peated to me his son the favours the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra-aa-khepheru (Amenophis II) living forever. Gave he to me the image of his father the king Ra-men-khepher (Thothmes III.) giver of life his image of millions of years in the house (of his) father."

Now, with these translations from Hebrew and Egyptian, compare similar translations from cuneiform inscriptions which preserve, in like manner, the order of ideas followed in the original. The first extract is from the Annals of Ashur-nasir-pal about 882 B.C. (*Records of the Past*, Second Series, Vol. III, p. 45):

"Their soldiers I slew; their spoil, their riches I carried off; their soldiers were discouraged; the summits projecting over against the city of Nistun which were menacing like the storms of heaven, I captured; into which no one among the princes my sires had ever penetrated; my soldiers like birds (of prey) rushed upon them; of their warriors by the sword I smote down; their heads cut off in heaps I arranged; the rest of them like birds in a nest in the rocks of the mountains nestled; their spoil, their riches from the midst of the mountains I brought down; cities which were in the midst of vast forests situated I overthrew; destroyed, burned in the fire; the rebellious soldiers fled from before my arms; they came down; my yoke they received; impost tribute and a Viceroy I set over them."

Another extract is from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, 665 B.C. (Lyons, *Assyrian Manual*, p. 49):

"Kings these, who evil devised against the troops of Assyria, alive to Nineveh to my presence they brought. To Necho out of their midst favour I granted him and spared his life. Compacts more than before I increased and with him established (in) clothing *birmi* I clothed him and a chain of gold, insignia of his royalty, I gave him, rings of gold I bound (on) his hands. An iron girdle-dagger, which its hilt (was) of gold, the naming of my name thereon I wrote and gave to him. Chariots, horses, asses (?), for the riding of his lordship I presented him. My generals, prefects, for his assistants with him I sent. Where my father in Sais to royalty had appointed him, to his station I restored him. And Nabusiziabanni, his son, to Athribis I appointed. Good, favour, more than that of my father, I increased and did to him."

I have selected similar passages as much as possible to give a more realistic character to the resemblances and similarities in style, but these realistic similarities are rather incidental than significant. The real comparison of these various texts in style lies not in these superficial resemblances but in a fundamental distinction, the order of ideas in the sentence.

The ease with which Hebrew sentences are turned into English, as compared with the difficulty sometimes encountered in translating a Greek sentence, is apparent even to a beginner. Now, while the grammatical and syntactical construction of the Egyptian is very different from the grammar and

syntax of both Hebrew and English, the general order of ideas in the sentence, the most fundamental characteristic of language, is seen in the above translations to be strikingly similar. The main idea is put forth first and the subordinate ideas come straggling along, ofttimes in very loose formation and making sentences which are remarkably like the head, body and tail of some creature. It is what is called by rhetoricians the weakness of the English sentence. It is to be noted, however, that this order is not a weakness in the creatures; it is the way all natural things approach, except the crab! The English tongue is exceedingly forcible; it may well be believed that the same characteristic of language in Hebrew and in Egyptian was forcible also.

In marked contrast with this common characteristic of language in Hebrew, Egyptian and English, is the inverted form of the Babylonian sentence, which always approaches one tail foremost and reserves the head of the sentence, the great central idea, for the end. The object of the verb and all the subordinate ideas are thus presented first and the principal idea expressed in the verb placed at the close. It is in this one respect more like the ancient Greek, or the modern German sentence. Whatever may be said for the forcibleness of this form of sentence, it is an inverted sentence; it comes feet foremost and stands on its head. This characteristic of Babylonian is thus exactly the reverse of the corresponding general characteristic of Hebrew in the Pentateuch.

The order of ideas in the sentence is fundamental in style in any language. That the Hebrew of the Bible, especially of the early books of the Bible, should follow the order in the Egyptian sentence rather than the order in the Babylonian tongue can hardly be accidental. Such fundamental resemblances between languages so very different in character as Egyptian and Hebrew could not be brought about by any casual contact of literary correspondence with Egypt; they must either have been original resemblances or have been brought about only by such intimacy of association as is narrated in the Pentateuch concerning the Mosaic age. When to these general resemblances in style are added the actual presence of Egyptian idioms of speech, Egyptian names of the Mosaic age (cf. p. 1–52) and many points of contact in the archaeology of the Pentateuch itself, it appears that the light which archaeology throws over the literary characteristics of the books of the Law makes their production under Egyptian influence in the Mosaic age not only possible and probable, but presents facts which make literary difficulties, as we shall presently see, for the composition of these books at the later date claimed for them by the Documentary Theory that are insurmountable.

We may recall now the difficulty about a cuneiform original of the Pentateuch to which attention was directed in the beginning of this lecture. If it be that the original of the Pentateuch was in the Canaanite dialect of the Babylonian language and

in the cuneiform script, *no difficulty whatever will arise.* If there was originally and for a time after the entrance into the Promised Land only a cuneiform copy of the Pentateuch which was later translated into Hebrew, that would not affect the question of the similarity between the Hebrew and the Egyptian. The Hebrew having become fixed in its forms during the long sojourn in Egypt would, when it became later a written language in Palestine, be written in this form. The Canaanite Babylonian being only a written, not a spoken, language in Palestine, would not affect the Hebrew by analogy, and so the translation of the original cuneiform of the Pentateuch into Hebrew would not show this characteristic of the Babylonian in the order of ideas in the sentence.

There is, then, a fundamental similarity in the order of ideas in the sentence between these languages of Western Asia, the Hebrew (Canaanite) and Egyptian and also the Arabic, that does not exist between Hebrew and the Babylonian of Babylonia and Assyria.

It may be said that this general order of ideas in the Hebrew sentence is simply the genius of the Hebrew tongue. Undoubtedly; but why? Look at the situation in those ancient times in which the genius of the Hebrew tongue was fixed, as the genius of every tongue is, when it becomes a "literary" language, and so embodied in its literature. There were in contact with the people of the Bible story two great ancient tongues, scripts and literatures,

mutually exclusive and antagonistic; on the east the Babylonian cuneiform literature and on the west the Egyptian hieroglyphic literature. At a date comparatively late in the history of this great literature a small people became a nation, grew great and acquired a literature. It is a people who speak a Semitic tongue, and thus, naturally, emphatically inclined toward the genius of the Babylonian, another Semitic tongue. Instead of following this natural inclination, this new literature shows that its language in the broadest principle of its genius, the order of the main ideas in expression, is decidedly assimilated to the Egyptian, a language of some resemblance to it and a good many similar words, but of such striking grammatical and syntactical differences from it as to be of a very different genius. At the same time there is a positive record in the Hebrew books of the Law, and a permanent tradition among Hebrews of all ages, in every portion of the world, of an extended sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and an exodus from that land at the time of *the beginning of her national literature*. Moreover, this evidence in Hebrew literature extends to every principal document, even the "P Document" (Oxford Hexateuch I, 155–156) of the theory that would see a late origin of the Pentateuch, in part under Babylonian influence.

According to the Documentary Theory, most of the literature of the Old Testament arose during, or after, the Exile, and the remainder of it was compiled and put into the present literary form during

the same time, when the Hebrew language was immersed in the Babylonian and so subjected to its fullest influence (Kautzsch, *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 167–205). A language cannot so pass through another without becoming affected by it, as Pennsylvania German is Americanized German, Creole French is Americanized French, Mexican is Spanish affected by the Aztec language, and the speech of Latin America is Spanish or Portuguese modified by Indian dialects. Even foreign missionaries, after many years abroad, betray foreign influence in attempting to speak their own tongue.

If the Documentary Theory were correct for the Pentateuch, including Leviticus, then there would be manifest in it Babylonian influences. Instead, as we have seen, the Pentateuch, including Leviticus, is in general in its literary characteristics, in exact accord with the representations of Scripture and the traditions of the Jews, and it is, in this fundamental characteristic of language, the order of the main ideas, assimilated to the Egyptian, the dominant nation of the west, as is Arabic the other western Semitic language which is on the border of Egypt.

Of the books of the Bible which seem likely to have had Babylonian influence at all, Ezekiel was written before Hebrew had been long subjected to Babylonian influence (Kautzsch, *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 192–193; but see pp. 87–88, where he provides for the "actual composition" later;

Beecher, *Dated Events*, p. 157). No one knows *where* Daniel was written, for even though written in Daniel's time, it may have been by some one of the returned Exiles in Palestine. The Psalms of Degrees are poetry, in which such influence as we are considering would be most difficult to detect, if it existed. The other exilian and post-exilian books we will presently consider.

The law of comparative philology concerning changes in language by analogy is that many words, phrases and idioms so change, but that the order of the principal ideas in the sentence changes much less readily and only as the result of very strong and long-continued subjection to the working of analogy (Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, pp. 345 ff). The most notable example of this last effect of analogy is in the languages formed by contact between the Latin and the Teutonic languages, and between some of the products of that contact, the Romance languages and especially the English. Peoples speaking different languages were thrown together in such fashion that they desired and endeavored most ardently to understand each other. Out of such efforts to understand grew the modern English language, and also the modern Romance languages. The mind, in its effort to grapple with the difficulties of an imperfectly known tongue, naturally has more difficulty in calling up nouns than verbs, because one verb may ofttimes be made to do duty in many situations, but each object, for the most part, must have a different word. Thus

the mind in its struggles got hold of the verb and used it, while still groping about for the word which was to be used as its object, with the result that the object came to be put after the verb, contrary to the practice in both antecedent languages.

The most notable examples of the influence of analogy, especially on the order of the principal ideas in the sentence among oriental languages, is to be found among the Western Semitic tongues, particularly Hebrew; though it is found in Arabic also. The history of Israel, as given in the Pentateuch, furnishes an explanation of this peculiarity of the Hebrew very similar to the explanation given for the same peculiarity in English and the Romance languages. The Israelites were thrown with the Egyptians first as favorites of the government. There would be naturally a desire of the two peoples to understand each other. But the Egyptian was already a fixed language having sacred books, which always give fixity to a language. Naturally, then, the Hebrew, not yet being a fixed language as was the Egyptian, not only took up Egyptian words and phrases, but begat similarity to the Egyptian in the order of the principal ideas in the sentence. Then, after this, but while still in contact with this influence, getting sacred books itself, it became forever fixed in this order of ideas. As the Arabic has, also, generally the same order of principal ideas in the sentence, it is probable that still earlier contact between these western Semitic tongues and Hamitic tongues in the general course of migratory move-

ments indicated in the Table of Nations in the 10th Chapter of Genesis had exerted strong influences in the same direction through analogy before Israel went into Egypt.

One other question calls for investigation in connection with this peculiarity of the Hebrew. What was the effect upon Hebrew of the later contact with the Babylonian, especially during the seventy-year period of Exile? As the influence upon the order of words in the sentence, according to the law of analogy, is not to be expected at all except under peculiar conditions and long-continued contact, seventy years would be too short a period to effect much change. Sympathetic interest of the peoples was lacking and its place filled by antagonism, and, in addition, Hebrew had by this time become fixed in its forms through the influence of sacred books, even upon the most extreme critical view concerning the date of the Pentateuch. Notwithstanding, examination of the exilian and post-exilian books, together with the so-called "P Document" of the Pentateuch, to discover whether or not any such influence of analogy is apparent, reveals some interesting things.

The undoubted exilian and post-exilian books do show in a remarkable way many of the general effects of analogy through contact with the Babylonian and Aramaic. Especially is this true of Daniel. Pusey in his monumental work long ago put this fact before the public (*Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 462 ff). He also quotes Professor Max Muller

as citing for him a long list of Aryan words, marks of the influence of Aryan languages at second hand through the Babylonian (Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet,* pp. 455 ff). The Aramaic of Daniel also shows, in a remarkable way, Babylonian and other influences (Wilson, *I. S. B. E.*, p. 784a; also *Princeton Biblical and Theological Studies,* pp. 263–306, and *Studies in Daniel,* Vol. II). All this goes to show that the books actually prepared at a late date in the history of Israel and under Babylonian and Aramaic influences reveal the common effects of such influence through the law of analogy.

When we turn to inquire after evidences of change in the order of the principal ideas in the sentence in these late books, it is interesting to note that some of the late exilian and the post-exilian books do show traces of the influence of the Babylonian and Aramaic order of ideas in the sentence.

Careful examination of the Hebrew throughout all these books brings to light varied facts concerning the different books. Daniel, notwithstanding the many Aramaisms and other evidences of Babylonian influence, found everywhere throughout the book, and the additional fact that considerable portions of the book are written in the Aramaic language, yet, in the Hebrew portions, reveals nothing that unmistakably shows Babylonian influence in the order of ideas in the sentence. Wherever any seeming evidence of such influence appears, it may always be reasonably explained as the ordinary working of emphasis, or of that degree of flexibility

in the order of ideas in the sentence which occurs in any language.

Ezra and Nehemiah, also, present evidences of much influence from the eastern life of the people, though fewer than Daniel and of a somewhat different character; but neither do these books positively show Aramaic influence in the order of ideas in the sentence.

In Ezekiel it is very different; throughout the book, and especially in the later portions of the book from the XXXIII Chapter onward, Babylonian influence in the order of ideas in the sentence is very manifest. Such sentences as the following are very frequent: "Joined one to another their wings; not turned they in their going; each one unto that before his face went" (I, 9). "When I say to the wicked, thou shalt surely die, and not givest thou him warning, and not speakest to warn the wicked from his way of wickedness that he may live, that wicked man in his iniquity shall die, but his blood from thy hand will I require. And thou, that thou warnest the wicked man, but not returneth he from his wickedness, and from his wicked way, that one in his iniquity shall die, but thou thy soul has delivered. If turn the righteous man from his righteousness and do iniquity, and I place a stumbling-block before him, he shall die, since thou has not warned him, in his sins he shall die, not shall be remembered his righteousness which he hath done, but his blood from thy hand will I require. And thou, if thou warnest that righteous man, that sin

not the righteous man, and he doth not sin, his life shall be; for he was warned and thou thy soul hast delivered" (III, 18–21). "And all of these he doth not do, and also upon mountains hath eaten, and the wife of his neighbor hath defiled, the poor and the needy hath ruined, hath spoiled by violence, the pledge not hath returned and unto idols hath lifted up his eyes, abomination hath committed. Unto usury hath given, increase hath taken; he liveth on? not shall he live; all these iniquities hath he done; dying he shall die, his blood upon him shall be" (XVIII, 11–13). "Ye stand upon your sword, ye work abomination, a man the wife of his neighbor defileth, and the land ye shall possess? Thus shalt thou say unto them, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, as I live, who is in the waste places by the sword shall fall and what is in the open field to the beast will I give it, and what is in the stronghold and in the caves by the pestilence shall die" (XXXIII, 26–27).

Altogether 35 very manifest instances of Babylonian influence in the order of ideas in the sentence may be cited: I, 9; III, 18,19, 20, 21; V, 7; IX, 10; X, 22; XII, 27; XVII, 16; XVIII, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20; XXIII, 47; XXIV, 22; XXV, 15; XXX, 5; XXXIII, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 26, 27, 31; XXXIV, 8, 18, 19, 26; XLV, 6; XLVI, 17. In addition to these instances, there are many others which, while they would not of themselves unequivocally attest Babylonian influence as a fact, yet, when taken in connection with this unmistakable evidence, are very suggestive.

This peculiarity in the order of ideas in the Hebrew sentence is sometimes attributed by grammarians altogether to emphasis; this is true of commandments and especially prohibitions, but emphasis will not account for the striking difference between the Hebrew of Ezekiel and other Hebrew. It is further said by some that reversal of the order of ideas in the sentence gives to prose the appearance of poetry (Harper, *Elements of Hebrew Syntax*, p. 108; cf. Ewald, *Hebrew Syntax*, pp. 152–153). This is a mere statement of fact that explains nothing. To reverse the order of ideas in the sentence does certainly make prose look something like poetry, but it will not do to assume that the resemblance produced by the arrangement accounts for the arrangement.

The absence of such Babylonian order of ideas in the sentence in the Hebrew of the book of Daniel is most interesting, not to say puzzling. It is too foreign to the subject in hand to be given much space here. If the book is by Daniel himself or from memoranda left by him, as is most probable, this peculiarity may easily be accounted for by the fact of Daniel's immediate and thorough Babylonian education at the beginning of his Babylonian sojourn. A person so educated would be far less likely to mingle the idioms of the two languages than one who learned the foreign tongue incidentally and through mere subjection to its influence and the demands of intercourse.

If the Pentateuch, in its final form, or any part of it originally, came out of the same influences as these exilian and post-exilian books, at nearly the same time, could it have escaped such marks? Yet the "P Document" shows not a trace of the law of analogy in the more common manifestations in words and idioms, and especially not any change in the order of principal ideas in the sentence to bring it into conformity with the well-nigh invariable order of Babylonian and Aramaic. Such marks of influence are not found to exist *in fact*, after the examination of every verse of the Hebrew of the "P Document."

Nor, as already noted, does criticism seriously *claim* any such marks upon the Hebrew of the "P Document." Among all the "signs" of the late date of the "P Document" cited by the Oxford Hexateuch (Chapter XIII), Babylonianisms have no place. Even among "Babylonian data" cited by the same work (pp. 134–135) there are only produced some numbers, the word *kopher*, which has a corresponding Assyrian word *kuupr'i*, and *t'hom*, which mythologically is connected with *Tiamat* of Babylonian mythology. Professor James Orr, in his admirable survey of critical views, among "linguistic peculiarities" cited by critics, is able to discover only "phraseological criteria" and not at all marks of the influence of another tongue through analogy (Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, pp. 230–231). Is this peculiarly archaic type of Hebrew found in the Pentateuch, especially as found in the "P Docu-

ment," an imitation, at a late date, or is it nature, at a time when it would be natural? Art never can attain to such perfect proficiency in the use of linguistic peculiarities.

This peculiarity of the order of ideas in the Hebrew sentence exists. It must have been caused by some influence tending toward such a result and under such circumstances as would permit such influences to be effective. The Pentateuchal claims for time and place and circumstances exactly fulfill such conditions and satisfy such demands. Ancient history as known to us affords no other such opportunity.

These facts concerning the Hebrew of the Pentateuch and especially of the "P Document," do not prove decisively the date of the "P Document," for even on the hypothesis of the Documentary Theory, J and E had already come into existence in Palestine before P, and the idiom thus once fixed might be supposed to continue. But these facts do exactly harmonize, not in a negative, but in a positive, way with the claims of the Pentateuch for Mosaic origin. Moreover, the additional fact that the books known to have had late exilic or post-exilic date do show the effect of Eastern Semitic idiom, while the "P Document" does not, makes any claim for the same late date for the "P Document" exceedingly improbable.

It is now in order to take note of the fact that there are two possible views concerning the origin of the difference in the order of the principal ideas

in the sentence between the Eastern and the Western Semitic tongues. One view is that the parent Semitic tongue placed the object after its verb; that this order of ideas continued in the Western tongues, Canaanite, Hebrew and Arabic; but that it was changed in the Eastern regions through contact with the Sumerian (Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*, II, 172 and 433) that the Aramaic received the same bent by the influence of analogy from the Babylonian, and that the later Hebrew was similarly modified by contact with the Babylonian during the Exile. On this view it is most unlikely that the portion of the Pentateuch called the "P Document" could have come out of the exilic or post-exilic period of Hebrew literature and yet show no similar modification through contact with the Babylonian, as the Aramaic and all the known exilic and post-exilic Hebrew literature does show, but would most naturally rise under the influence of the Western Semitic tongues.

On the other view of the origin of the difference in the order of principal ideas in the sentence between the Eastern and the Western Semitic tongues, the original Semitic tongue in the north placed the verb after its object; the Eastern branch of the Semitic tongue continued so to do in Babylonia; and the Aramaic naturally followed the Babylonian as did the later Hebrew literature of exilic and post-exilic times by assimilation. Thus again it is most unlikely that the so-called "P Document" came out of this later period of Hebrew literature, seeing that

it shows no mark of such contact with Eastern Semitic tongues as does the other exilic and post-exilic Hebrew literature.

In the West, however, according to this view, the Semitic tongue came into contact with the Egyptian, according to the Pentateuchal history and the tradition of the Jews, and for 400 years was immersed in the Egyptian language and was thus modified into conformity to the order of ideas in the Egyptian, which placed the object after its verb. Thus the whole Pentateuch, including the so-called "P Document," following, as it does, the order of principal ideas in the Egyptian, would most naturally come out of this period of Hebrew literature exactly as it purports to have come.

Briefly, the argument may be stated thus: Wherever historically there is mingling of Semitic tongues with other tongues there is assimilation. There is no assimilation to the Babylonian in the "P Document." Therefore probably no mingling of the Hebrew of the "P Document" with the Babylonian and so no origin of the "P Document" under the Babylonian influences.

On the other hand, there is assimilation of the language in the "P Document" to the Egyptian tongue, a result which comes only from the mingling of tongues. There is also not only tradition, but historical claim, for an historical mingling of the Hebrew with the Egyptian tongue. Therefore the production of the Pentateuch, including the so-called "P Document," under the Egyptian influences, in

accordance with the Pentateuchal claims, is not only entirely credible, but is the literary origin of the Pentateuch naturally to be expected.

What additional or stronger historical evidence can be asked for the origin of this similarity in genius between Hebrew and Egyptian literature? What stronger evidence of the relation between Creole French and the English of the American continent will there be for the future archaeologist? There will be only, as in this case of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the positive statements of historical records, an unfaltering tradition, and the *American stamp* on Creole French. And what evidence will the future have that the Mexican language and literature belonged to the Romance family subjected to an Aztec influence? Simply the historical account, the unfaltering tradition and the *Aztec mark* upon the Spanish of Mexico. If our minds can be freed from critical prejudices, there can be no more doubt concerning Egyptian influences upon the Pentateuchal literature at its inception than of Indian influence upon Mexican literature and American influence upon Creole French.

LECTURE III.

Light on the History of Israel Involved in the Pentateuchal Discussions

The ancient orient left great treasures of literature, most of which have been lost, alas, perhaps forever. But some of the literary treasures of antiquity have never been lost, the most important of which are certain remains of the Hebrew people, especially the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. We call these Scriptures, but they are none the less literary remains of antiquity.

Some lost literary remains of antiquity were recovered a long while ago; especially at the time of the revival of letters. Notable among these recovered treasures, in addition to the great mass of poetry, tragedy, essay and law, are the literary works, sometimes only fragments, of certain travellers, geographers and historians which throw light upon Bible lands: among these are Strabo, Herodotus, Syncellus, Josephus, Eusebius and others. These, along with the great mass of other literature recovered, we call Classics, but they, also, are literary remains of antiquity.

Many things are now being discovered; tablets, papyri, inscribed bricks, columns, tombs, temples, besides many other material objects without inscription, which throw light upon these inscriptions

and illustrate the times, the art, the learning and the religion. These things we call archaeological finds, but they also, in very large part, are literary remains of antiquity.

Thus all these things, whether Scriptures, Classics or archaeological discoveries are, for the most part, literary remains of antiquity, and, *as archaeological material*, are of equal rank and value according to their character. Yet by many Bible students they are not so treated. It is proposed, rather, to apprehend one of these, the Scriptures, thrust it into the prisoner's box, deny it the inalienable right of a prisoner before conviction to be heard in his own defense without undue prejudice, summon all the others as witnesses against it, in an attempt to convict it of untrustworthiness, and, if any inscription of a boastful old heathen king can be found to say a word against the statements of the Bible, loudly proclaim that Scripture has been discredited.

Such a method is unfair; in the name of logic and of the Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair play, it must be protested. The Bible itself, as literary remains of antiquity, is archaeological material, the best and most voluminous that we possess on the subjects it touches. And, every question of inspiration and divine revelation aside, is entitled to be heard with all the other kinds of archaeological evidence, and is not to be remanded to silence and made to stand to the one side and condemned on the authority of any, or all, of these other witnesses.

It is important thus to see the standing of Scripture as archaeological evidence at the outset of this third lecture, for, necessarily, light on the history of Israel involved in the Pentateuchal discussions rests, in some good measure, upon the archaeology of the Bible itself, confirmed also and illuminated by the archaeological finds and the classical remains from Bible lands.

I. In the examination of evidence, we will begin with some historical allusions found in the Pentateuch itself which, together with evidence from discoveries in Bible lands, throw much light upon Pentateuchal times.

1. Joseph's coat of many colors (Gen. XXXVII). This gaudy apparel of a young lad furnishes the key to the whole tragic drama of Joseph's career. The coat of many colors (Heb. *kᵉthōnĕth păssim*) provoked Joseph's brethren to jealousy; the jealousy led to his abduction and slavery; his slavery, to his imprisonment; his imprisonment, to his acquaintance with the condemned servitors of Pharaoh; his aid for the chief butler, to his appearance before Pharaoh, his promotion to his high office, and his saving of a suffering world, the preservation of the chosen people, and the whole course of revelation and redemption connected with their future history. But why should such a trifle as a gaudy habit, the gift of a doting father to a young lad, provoke jealousy and hate to such great consequences? That these men with great flocks and herds and much business and with families of their

own should have thought their father foolish about the boy of seventeen is not unreasonable, but that a merely gay suit of clothes for the lad should have provoked a murderous jealousy is past belief. And that his dreams, which they recalled to mind at sight of his coat of many colors even a long way off, should have been associated with the sight of his garments and should have excited anything more than derisive laughter, if only the foolish dreams of a bumptious boy with no prospects, is equally unbelievable. It is not a groundless pretense that provokes jealousy, *but a feared and hated reality.* The brethren doubtless understood the situation; the Biblical writer understood it; those to whom he immediately wrote were expected to understand it, for he made no explanation; but it is not now at all explicable from the narrative itself.

The wonderful painted tombs of Bene Hassein in Egypt seem to throw unexpected light upon Joseph's coat of many colors, and all the more because of very recent work in the history of the Amorites (Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*). Among many scenes in the life of Khnem-hotep of the time of Usertesen II (Steindorff in *Baedaker's Egypt*, 1908, pp. 211 and 212; Budge, *History of Egypt*, III, 27) is one of the arrival from Canaan of Amorite chiefs, embassadors to Egypt. They came during the time of Amenemhat II of the XII dynasty, probably about three centuries before the time of Joseph. These embassadors, men of rank, coming in state, appear in coats of many colors.

The coat of many colors was thus undoubtedly used as a ceremonial robe, an insignia of rank and authority; moreover, fashions do not change even once in three centuries in that land. If old Jacob thus, in giving Joseph a coat of many colors, marked him for the chieftainship of the tribe at the father's death, the provocation of the lad's bumptious vanity in telling his dreams to his brethren and the rage excited among the brothers by the appearance of this lad sent to *look after them* and *report*—sent also wearing the coat of many colors,—is well understood, and the whole tragedy unfolds with perfect naturalness.

Thus the events are made clear: but when would a writer write and readers understand the narrative? Sisera's "divers colors" might appropriately refer to raiment of rank, but the Hebrew is entirely different (*ts*ᵉ*bha'īm rĭgmāh*) and there is no hint of such a ceremonial robe after the early days of the Monarchy. Tamer wore just such a robe "of many colors" (*k*ᵉ*thōnĕth păssim*), but an explanation is added, "for with such robes were the kings' daughters that were virgins apparelled," which implies that the custom had so completely passed away even at the writing of 2 Samuel that an explanation was needed for the reader (2 Sam. XIII. 18). This account is assigned in part to J, in part to JE, and in part to E (Oxford Hexateuch II, pp. 58 and 60). Is it likely that any writer of those times, far on in the divided kingdom, should have known of this ceremonial coat of many colors of

Amorite times? And if by any chance he did know of it, would he not also certainly have added some explanation of its meaning and use in writing to a generation to whom it would mean nothing, as did the writer in 2 Samuel? Is there any time and historical setting later than Exodus times when this account of the gaudy coat of many colors, as it stands without explanation, is to be expected, or would be understood?

2. "An Egyptian" (Gen. XXXIX, I). In the account of the sale of Joseph as a slave into Egypt, it is said that his purchaser was an officer of Pharaoh, "an Egyptian." Why not, of course, "an Egyptian?" Why should that fact be mentioned? Would anyone describe a person as "an officer of the American government and an American?" or, of the French government "and a Frenchman?" Would any historical writer, modern or ancient, mention any government official in such a manner without a special reason? There must have been such a special reason in this case when the Biblical writer adds "an Egyptian." That reason must have been known to the writer, else he would not have used the expression, yet he does not think it important to pass on to his readers a reason so important for himself that he would not have used the expression without it. Evidently he did not think any explanation needed for the readers. Now what was the special reason for the use of this expression, "an Egyptian," and when would such expression be written without any need of explanation to the reader?

The explanation now needed by us is found in the history of the Hyksos period in Egypt, a history which was sedulously stamped out by the Egyptians, and every attempt made to eradicate every trace of it in Egypt. The Hyksos were *Haq Shashu*, Bedouin Princes, "bow people" of the desert, wandering tribes, perhaps connected with the Amorite Empire (Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*) who came into the Delta of Egypt, made their fortified camp at Avaris (Petrie, *Tel el Yehudiyeh*), later put a similar wall of circumvallation around Heliopolis (Petrie, *Heliopolis*, I), established themselves on the throne for about 500 years, though some think for a shorter period, and lorded it over the Egyptians. It was under one of these Hyksos kings that Joseph appeared in Egypt as a "Bedouin slave" and was later elevated to be again a "Bedouin Prince" and "*Ab*" or "Vizier" of Pharaoh. So the government of Egypt in Joseph's day was not "Egyptian;" but this particular government official was "an Egyptian." The writer of Genesis knew this fact and mentioned it as the exception to the rule in the government, and, moreover, *at the time he wrote*, saw no reason why he should make any explanation of this peculiar condition of affairs that made it necessary to mention that an official of the government in Egypt was "an Egyptian."

This passage is attributed to J (Oxford Hexateuch, II, p. 61) at a time after some six or eight centuries of effort on the part of the Egyptians to eradicate the memory of the Hyksos. Is it likely

that a writer of Palestine, at that time, would be so familiar with conditions in Egypt of the Hyksos period as to use this phrase, and if, by any possibility, he were such an archaeologist, would not such a pedant certainly have explained the phrase to the people among whom the knowledge of its meaning is unbelievable? On the other hand, the Israelites were themselves "Bedouin Princes" and people, and, when first in Egypt, the favorites and wards of the Hyksos, and, after the expulsion of their friends the Hyksos, the only people in Egypt interested in keeping alive the memory of their kind benefactors and the glorious days when they were favorites at the court, and "an Egyptian" was an exception in the government and worthy of special mention. Among *these* people such memory might linger until the time of the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings. When the old generation, born in Egypt, perished and the two new generations sprang up wholly in the wilderness, such knowledge among the people was left behind forever. At the time of the Exodus, or soon after, these words, "an Egyptian," might have been written in good faith and without explanation; but hardly at any later time.

3. "Up out of the land" (Ex. I. 10). This phrase is an inexact translation. It argues little for the knowledge of archaeological conditions of the time in Egypt among the company of translators of King James, and the Revisers of 1884, also, that this translation has stood so long. The Egyptians were

afraid of the Israelite slaves because of their great and growing numbers. But the fear of a slave population is not usually fear of escape, but of insurrection, of revolution and of slave rule. It is only while slaves are still secure in their bondage, held under the lash, that there is concern about their running away. When slaves, because of their numbers, become a menace, as in this case, it would be the greatest relief of the situation to have them run away. Slave terror, such as this of the Egyptians, is only terror of slave uprising. Why then should they have said, "Lest, when any war fall out, they join themselves to our enemies and get them up out of the land?"

Well, they did not say it. The Hebrew is *'ālāh mĭn-hā-'ārĕts*, "go up from the land;" not "up out of the land" of Egypt, but "up from the land" assigned to them, i.e., Goshen. "Up" is toward the south in Egypt. The Hyksos were first humbled by Amasis I, and at last driven out of Egypt and the XVIII dynasty established. The Israelites, the wards and favorites of the Hyksos, remained in Egypt. The Egyptians reduced them to government slavery, but they, nevertheless, increased so rapidly that at last the Egyptians began to be afraid of revolt in favor of their old enemies, the Hyksos, in some time of war. "Lest," said they, "if any war fall out, they join themselves to our enemies," i.e., the Hyksos, driven out over the eastern border, and so get them "up from the land," i.e., spread up south from Goshen and cover the whole land and

rule over all of it. This was the thing which the Hyksos had tried to do, but had never been able completely to accomplish.

This particular passage is attributed to J (Oxford Hexateuch, II, pp. 80–81). Would a writer in Palestine of that time, when, for at least seven centuries, the Egyptians had been diligent in erasing, as far as possible, every trace of the rule of the Hyksos, have been able to understand this historical allusion to the conditions at the beginning of the oppression, conditions which even modern archaeological science did not enable the revisers of twenty-five years ago to understand and translate accurately? But this phrase, "Up out of the land," might well still have been understood at the time of the Exodus.

4. Edom and Moab in Pentateuchal history. Modern historical criticism of the radical type has assigned Edom and Moab to a late period and the prominence given to them in the Pentateuch as of an early date is ascribed to an anachronism perpetrated by some late writer or redactor. Such an anachronism would, of course, be fatal to the early authorship of the Pentateuch and, in general, to the trustworthiness of the description of those early times. But there is no anachronism in the place and prominence given to Edom and Moab in the Pentateuch. The papyrus Anastasia mentions a request of the Edomites in the early part of the reign of Meremptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, to enter the region of Succoth and pasture their

flocks. This not only identifies Edom for that time, but incidentally harmonizes exactly with the account of the departure of the Israelites as it is given in Exodus at the beginning of Meremptah's reign and the consequent vacancy in these pasture lands. The Egyptians were not sheep-keepers and so would be slow to take up these pasture lands, while, to the Bedouin shepherds, who love lots of room, they would be very attractive (Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 136).

As to Moab, in 1908 I uncovered the bases of some statues in front of the Temple of Luxor and found inscriptions of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, in which he mentions Moab by name, spelling out the word as plainly as it is spelled in English. It was of sufficient importance in his day to be thus made the subject of a boast of subjugation by this great military conqueror (*Recueil de Traveaux*, Vol. XXX, 1908). These identifications not only take away every possibility of the charge of anachronism in the use of these names in the Pentateuch, but also incidentally attest the composition of this narrative in the Pentateuch at a time when these events would be thus with minute accuracy known to the writer. What an historian of marvelous attainments and accuracy in such an age must a late writer have been to have located these peoples so exactly in history as that they are thus precisely confirmed by the monuments!

5. Pharaoh. The evidential value of the use of the word Pharaoh in the chronology of the Pentateuch and later books of the Bible is a much-mooted question: both sides to the Pentateuchal controversy have claimed the testimony furnished by this word. It is necessary therefore to proceed, in this case, with unusual caution in presenting the evidence and the argument. The testimony given by this word is not equally valuable for all periods of Israelite history, because there is a strange recrudescence of its use at a late date among the Assyrians, and especially the Persians, long after the Egyptians themselves had ceased to use it as they used it in earlier times. But for the time of Abraham and for the period of the Exodus it contributes some most valuable evidence; indeed none is stronger.

Professor W. Max Müller says of the name Pharaoh, "The Hebrews can have received it only after 1000 B.C.," because it did not come into use in Egypt in the way the Biblical writers employ it in the Pentateuch until that time (*Encyclopedia Biblica*, p. 3687), a strange lapse of logic for this usually careful authority. Since the literature of the New Empire as early as the time of Rameses the Great shows abundant use of this word for king in exactly the same way which the Hebrew writer uses it in the Pentateuch, it is a strange conclusion that it cannot have been so used by the Hebrews until some three centuries later!

F. D. Griffith, in the *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* (Vol. III, p. 819), says: "In the New Kingdom it (*Per-o*) became at once personal and was soon a common term for king." He quotes also from the letter of Amenhotep IV, XVIII dynasty, in which that monarch is addressed as "Pharaoh, the lord." Griffith also says that, in the XIX dynasty, the Dynasty of the Oppression and the Exodus, it (*Per-o*) is the usual expression for the king in unarchaistic narrative and in the stories, and is followed by the royal personal determinative. This use of the determinative marks Pharaoh as indisputably equivalent to "King" or "Monarch." Again Griffith says, "Certain Hieratic documents show that in the XXII dynasty (about the time of Solomon) it (*Per-o*) preceded the personal name of the king: thus, "Pharaoh Shishak."

F. Bechtel (*Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XI, p. 788) says, "At the period of the XVIII dynasty (XVI to XIV centuries B.C.) it (*Per-o*) is found in common use as a reverential designation of the king, and about the beginning of the XXII dynasty (X to VIII centuries B.C.), instead of being used alone as heretofore, had begun to be added to the other titles before the king's name, and from the XXV dynasty (VIII to VII centuries B.C.) it was, at least in ordinary usage, the only title prefixed to the royal appelative." The absence of proper names in the early books of the Bible is no indication of the late date of their composition or of the writer's vague knowledge of Egyptian history, rather the con-

trary. The same is true of the use of the title Pharaoh for kings earlier than the XVIII dynasty, which is quite in keeping with the Egyptian usage at the time of the XIX dynasty.

To bring order out of this confusion of opinions, we must trace carefully the history of the use of this word Pharaoh in Egypt, in the Bible, and in the Assyrian and Persian inscriptions.

In the language of diplomats, the Turkish government is known by the French appellation, "*Sublime Porte*," which means simply "The High Gate," a magniloquent figure of speech for the palace, and so for the government whose seat is there. A like, but more extended, development of the word Pharaoh is traceable in the history of Egypt as it comes to us from widely separated sources. The Egyptian word for house is *per*, and for great is *aa*. Every house was *per*, a palace or temple or other great house was *per-aa*. The language of adulation easily appropriated this expression as a name for the residence of the king, which became thus very easily, distinctively *Peraa*, or, as it has come to us through the Greek, "Pharaoh." In the early history of Egyptian royalty, the word had no other meaning than simply palace, but in time, just as among the Turks, "The High Gate" became the government, so, among the Egyptians, *Peraa*, "The Great House," became not only the government whose seat was in the house, but the king, "Pharaoh," who, as a despot, was the government. This development of the use of the word was complete about the time

of the close of the Middle Empire and the beginning of the New Empire. The tale of two brothers of the time of Rameses the Great, the oppressor of Israel, presents the literary use of the word with this meaning (*Records of the Past*, 1st Series, II, p. 131; *Recueil de Travaux*, XXI. 13; I. 1). In the later dynasties contemporaneous with the kings of the divided kingdom in Israel a still further evolution, or rather devolution, of the word took place in Egypt, when it lost something of its royal dignity by having annexed to it the individual name of the particular "Pharaoh," as "Pharaoh Necho," "Pharaoh Hophra" (*International Sland. Bib. Encyc.*, p. 2359).

The mere outline of the origin and use of this word casts a great illumination in advance over the use of the word in the Scriptures and brings out, as in colors, the different ages from which these sacred documents came. The story of Abraham in Egypt was not written in the time of Abraham, else the king of Egypt would not be called "Pharaoh," for this use of the word does not begin until some centuries later. If the Pentateuch were written in the time of the divided kingdom in Palestine, five hundred years after the time of the Exodus, this word would not naturally be so used, for the word had ceased so to be used in the Egyptian tongue. A writer of the time of Rameses the Great, the oppressor, or a little subsequent to that time, would have used this word as we have it in the Pentateuch, and as it was then used in Egypt—in the height of its popular glory. A writer in the time of the divided

kingdom among Israel would naturally have said "Pharaoh Rameses," "Pharoah Meremptah," just as they did say "Pharaoh Necho," "Pharaoh Hophra," and as they were then saying in Egypt. They also said "Pharaoh Shishak" in Eygpt, though it is "Shishak King of Egypt" in the Bible.

Now the account of Abraham in Eygpt (Gen. XII. 15–18) is, in the critical theory, attributed to R^{JE} (Oxford Hexateuch, II, 19–20). Genesis XLI, Joseph before Pharaoh, is attributed to JE, except XLI. 31 and 34 to J, and 45^{b} and 46^{a} to P (Hexateuch, II, 64–65). The account of the conflict with Pharaoh, and of the Exodus, is attributed to J and JE, and various Rs, except Exodus VI. 2–VII. 13, together with numerous other fragments to P (Hexateuch II, 79–99). If a scribe or scribes of either of these periods represented by the claims for the various documents did actually write the Pentateuchal documents, where did he discover the name "Pharaoh" as a distinctive name for the King of Egypt, at a time when the Egyptians themselves had forgotten it for centuries? Such things are quite possible in these days of printed books and archaeological and philological research. Certainly there were no printed books then. Are we asked to believe that the sciences of archaeology and philology had reached such a stage of advancement, and that the artificiality of the historical novel was so fully developed, as to enable some scribe in the days of Hezekiah or Josiah, or some poor exile in Babylon, to recover such a linguistic nicety as this and attend to

its introduction into his literary work with such perfection!

There is also a curious fact bearing upon the work of this "exile scribe" which must not be passed over unnoticed. The Assyrians did write "Pharaoh" for the king of Egypt long after the Egyptians themselves discontinued its use. Sargon, 722–705 B.C., names the king of Egypt as "Pharaoh;" and the Persians even as late as about 500 B.C., have left a record of "Xerxes, Pharaoh the Great." This latter, however, is so manifestly a translation of foreign ideas into Egyptian that it can furnish little evidence of value (Budge, *History of Egypt*, VII, p. 77). But this fact, if it may be supposed to have been known to the supposed Hebrew scribe or scribe who wrote the supposed P document, instead of simplifying the case for the view involved in the Documentary Theory, complicates it greatly. It is still more incomprehensible that scribes of that day and land should have used a foreign word so discriminatingly, never employing it for their own time, but following accurately the Egyptian usage instead of the Assyrian, yet always employing it in the documents attributed by them to Moses, though the Egyptians themselves had forgotten its use! The only view which a critical consideration of the whole situation will support is that the portions of the Pentateuch using this word were written at or near the time of Rameses the Great, when the word was used among the Egyptians, i.e., in the Mosaic age.

6. Shihor. Joshua (XIII. 3) speaks of the "Shihor which is before Egypt," a stream which commentators have thought to be "the brook of Egypt," the desert stream which separated Egypt from Palestine, now called Wady el-Arish. Jeremiah (II. 18), says "What hast thou to do in the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of Shihor?" The commentators have thought Shihor in this case to be a name for the Nile. Both interpretations cannot be right. Whatever the name Shihor means, at least it is not the name of a movable river. It must be the same stream in both these passages. The former of these passages (Josh. XIII. 3), though not in the Pentateuch, is, in critical discussions, classed with the documents of the Pentateuch, and, on any critical theory as well as the manifest representations of the book itself, belongs to the same period and so the significance of this word "Shihor" is of interest in this discussion. Professor Naville has recently shown conclusively what the Shihor was and that the Bible uses it correctly.

In the northeasternmost province of Egypt called *Khentabt* ("fronting on the east") was a canal, a fresh water stream drawn off from the Nile, called in the Egyptian language *Shi-t-Hor*. that is "the Horus canal" ("t" is merely the Egyptian feminine ending). There have been many changes in the branches and canals from the Nile in the Delta of Egypt, and this one, with many others, has been lost altogether; but there is a tradition among the Bedouin about Wady el-Arish to this day

that once the waters of the Nile came over to that point. This "Shihor," "Stream of Horus," makes perfectly clear and harmonious the different references of Scripture to Shihor. It was "before Egypt," as described in Joshua, and it was the first sweet water of Egypt which the traveller from Palestine was able to obtain, as the words of Jeremiah indicate. To "drink the waters of Shihor" meant to reach this supply of the fresh water of the Nile at the border of the desert.

7. "As thou comest unto Zoar" (Genesis XIII. 10). Along with Shihor, this expression "as thou comest unto Zoar," may also be considered. In the account of the separation of Abraham and Lot at Bethel, after they came up out of Egypt, the writer in Genesis describes the attractive region, which took Lot's avaricious eye, as "like the garden of God, like the land of Egypt as thou goest unto Zoar." The only Zoar which commentators and critics have known is the "little one" to which Lot was permitted to flee from Sodom. Manifestly this reference could not be to that Zoar. Translators and commentators have tried all sorts of corrections and suppositions and transpositions to make sense for themselves out of this passage. On some such branch of the sweet water of the Nile as mentioned above, probably on that same Shihor, stood an ancient frontier fortress (Egyptian *khetam*), called in the Egyptian language *Tsoar*, of which the Hebrew for "Zoar" (*tsō'ar*) is a good equivalent, and of which "Zoar" is the nearest equivalent in our Roman let-

ters. This fortress Zoar was then on the edge of the desert as one came up out of Egypt, and so limited, on that side, all the richness of the verdure of Egypt; before it lay barren sands. This "Zoar" on the desert edge of Egypt makes the passage relating to Lot's choice perfectly clear. A man, as Moses, or one of his colleagues, writing in the desert to a people just come out of Egypt, would, with perfect naturalness and the consciousness of dwellers in Egypt, use the words, "like the land of Egypt as thou camest unto Zoar" (not "goest," according to the strained rendering of the revisers). But a writer in Palestine five or six hundred years later than the time Israel came out of Egypt (J, according to the Hexateuch II, p. 20) could not use such language at all. It would have been more puzzling to the Israelites, as an illustration, than it has ever been to the critics and the commentators. And what is the purpose of illustrations but to compare the unknown or little known with the well known? As Professor Naville well says: "What conception can men living in Judea, in a mountainous and dry country, watered chiefly by rain, have of an irrigated land owing its verdure to a large river and its inundations?" "It is one of the Mosaic touches of which we find many in Genesis." These two words, "Shihor" and "Zoar," are such Mosaic touches as no late writer could possibly use without such pedantry as would defeat the whole purpose of illustration, which is always to make things clearer. (Naville, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, January, 1913; cf. *Sunday School Times*, April 19, 1913.)

8. "The land of Rameses" (Gen. XLVII. 11). We will close this part of the testimony by a corroborating witness, the value of whose testimony lies in its circumstantial character. One of the historians of the early period of American discovery says of an explorer, that he searched the North Atlantic coast as far down as Hartford. On the other hand, it is very common in early literature and sometimes in history to call New York "New Amsterdam." In neither case is any explanation by the historian needed. He may use either the name by which a place was known at the time of which he writes or at that time at which he writes without any explanation. Habits of human thought create a mutual understanding, a kind of compact of intelligibility, which allows this liberty. But if he give the place some other name, he must explain himself, must locate himself and his readers, else the compact of intelligibility between them would be violated and his statement would be nonsense. Any historian who should write in these days of a city on Manhattan Island in the early times and call it neither New Amsterdam nor New York, but some fanciful name, and that without any explanation, would make himself ridiculous. In fact, historians never do so. Now the author of Genesis says (Gen. XLVII. 11), "And Joseph placed his father and brethren and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded." He calls the land "Rameses" without any explana-

tion. If he used the name which the land had at the time of which he wrote or at the time at which he wrote, no explanation was needed for the readers; otherwise he must have explained himself. He did not explain himself. Did he then use the name which the place had at the time at which he wrote or at the time of which he wrote, or was the time of which he wrote the time at which he wrote, or, in any case, was the name still the same? Only two answers have arisen to contest the place for acceptance: one that the author was Moses at the time of the Exodus and the other that he was a writer who has been called P during or after the Exile (Oxford Hexateuch II. 73) eleven centuries or more after the time of which he wrote. This latter view meets insuperable obstacles. A scribe of that late date, if he were the author of this passage, did not call the place by its name at the time at which he wrote, for the name had passed out of Egyptian history centuries before. The city of Rameses, from the neighborhood of which the children of Israel set out, perished. The Ramesside Dynasty, which gave its name to so many places and things during its time, also passed away, and many other dynasties, some of them exceedingly hostile and even foreign to Egypt, had succeeded and passed away in order before the days of this scribe of the 5th century B.C. Moreover, the "land of Rameses" was never a general name for Egypt, but only a local name for a little district about the city built by the Israelites, or at least for-

tified by them, and it bore this name only for a limited time. If, then, this scribe did not call this place by its name at the time at which he wrote, so neither did he call it by its name at the time of which he wrote. Rameses was not an Egyptian name in the days of the Hyksos kings, when Joseph was *Ab* or "Vizier" in Egypt, nor for nearly 400 years afterward, until about the time of the rise of the Ramesside Dynasty. Thus the scribe by calling the place Rameses would have called it by a name which was not its name at the time at which he wrote nor at the time of which he wrote, but by some other name, without any explanation, and so would have made his statement mere nonsense for his readers. Moreover, if this scribe did use neither the name of the place at the time at which he wrote nor at the time of which he wrote. but by some other name, i.e., "Rameses," how did he know that name? Was he the same expert Egyptologist, 2500 years before interest in Egyptology arose, which we have seen was so much needed to make good other speculations of criticism? Did he, so many centuries after the city, Rameses, was destroyed and the Ramesside Dynasty at an end, and the whilom name of this little district forgotten in Egypt, search out the buried and forgotten history of Egypt and recover this name? And if he did so, on what absurd principle or in what possible way did he choose this name? If it may be supposed that he simply gave it a name from the well-known names of Egypt, did Providence direct the rascal to select a name which

turned out to be the exact name of a petty district and that the very one both in which Israel first lived in Egypt and from which they departed from the land? From all these absurdities, how refreshing it is to turn to the Mosaic authorship at the time of the Exodus, when the "land of Rameses" was an intelligible expression for the region round about one of the Store Cities, and to find the author calling the place in which they located Joseph's father and brothers by the familiar name by which it was known at the time at which he wrote, just as the historian said that the early explorer "searched the North Atlantic coast as far down as Hartford."

II. Historical events. To begin at the point farthest from Pentateuchal times, the first event to be noticed is the prophecy of Ezekiel concerning the doom of Tyre, the so-called "trade list" of Ezekiel (Ezk. XXVII–XXVIII). This is a prophecy, but the giving of the prophecy and the making of the record of it were historical events, which, in this case, have a far greater providential value than was the value of the immediate purpose of Ezekiel in his prophecy. The events themselves come to the first rank among witnesses concerning Pentateuchal times.

The twenty-seventh Chapter of Ezekiel begins with these words: "The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus." Then follows the "Foreign trade chapter," describing, as has been thought, the business done by the ships of Tyre.

Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, Secretary of the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia, has recently made incidentally a remarkable contribution to the critical question of Pentateuchal times. His work, presented before the American Oriental Society, 1919, has not yet been published, but he has generously given me permission to make use of his researches. The facts as shown are his; for the argumentation and conclusions here presented I am wholly responsible.

The commerce of Tyre described in Ezekiel is not the whole commerce of Tyre, but only such part of it as consisted wholly of exactly those things required for the construction of the Tabernacle in the wilderness and its ritual (Ex. XXV–XXX), the priest's portion of the spoil (Num. XVII and XXXI) and the materials for the building of Solomon's temple and palace (1 Kings, VI., and 2 Chron., II–IV). These things are described in the prophecy largely in geographical terms. The various objects for Tabernacle and Temple indicated by these geographical terms had been destroyed or carried away by the Babylonians, and the priest's portions had been cut off by the Exile, into which the Babylonians had forced the priests. Thus this "Foreign trade chapter" is not a description of the general trade of Tyre at all, but an allegorical denunciation of doom upon Babylon made for the encouragement of the Jews in their captivity. It was made at a time when it would not have been safe for Ezekiel to say such things in a way intelligible to the Babylonians; hence the allegory.

The significance of these facts is easily seen. The account of the Tabernacle in the wilderness and of the priests' portions, both assigned in the Documentary Theory to P (Oxford Hexateuch, II, pp. 233–4, 237–8) must have been perfectly familiar to Ezekiel; and, as he wrote for the encouragement of the Jews in exile, it is perfectly evident that it must have been equally familiar to them also, else his words would have been as unintelligible to them as they were meant to be to the Babylonians. But according to the Documentary Theory, the P Document, which contains the account of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, was not written until about one hundred and twenty-seven years after Ezekiel wrote these words and at least fifty years after his death! This does not prove early composition of the Pentateuch, but it is fatal to the composition of this account of the Tabernacle at as late a date as is claimed for it in the Documentary Theory. All the claims ever made for predictive prophecy would pale into insignificance compared with the prevision which Ezekiel would need to meet the claims for the P Document made by the Documentary Theory. Even the mention of Cyrus by Isaiah would be but a trifle compared with Ezekiel's prevision of the long fabricated account of the materials of the Tabernacle in the P Document according to the Documentary Theory.

2. An historical event, rather two historical events, most intimately associated together, next command our attention; there is the finding of the

Law in the days of Josiah and there is the assumption of the Moses tradition as in the minds of the people which is involved in the proclamation of the Law found, as "by the hand of Moses" (2 Kings, XXII–XXIII). In the consideration of these events we will rely upon the archaeology of the Bible itself, as it harmonizes with the archaeology of the monuments; indeed, fits into it as an integral part of it.

No such archaeological evidence as is sometimes demanded by critics of archaeologists can be furnished in this case or ever will be furnished. We do not have the original copy of the book of the Law found by Hilkiah nor even a scrap of a contemporary copy of the Law from some hiding place into which it had fallen in the days preceding Josiah, when the Law had disappeared from among the people, much less an autograph record by Josiah himself telling us "all about it." Archaeology is a science of fragments, and cannot, in this case, produce more than fragments. The evidence produced is not the less evidence for that reason. It is for that very reason rather the better as evidence. Fragments are beyond suspicion or collusion, or even forgery usually, for the overwhelming temptation of forgers is to produce something more attractive than mere fragments. The archaeologist deals with hints, with little touches of evidence. The Indian trailer finds half of a footprint here, a misplaced stone there and a broken twig yonder, yet he unerringly discovers the way and who went along the way. The archaeologist likewise is a trailer. The few traces only that

he is able to find are usually of very great value, and point the way unerringly.

We are now to do some trailing by observing the archaeological hints contained in the Biblical account itself of the finding of the book of the Law. The time and the times afford opportunity for a real finding of the book of the Law at this time of Josiah, whether Deuteronomy alone or the whole Book of the Law. Hezekiah died in the year 605 B.C. Manasseh, his son, reigned fifty-five years, and this finding of the Book of the Law occurred probably in the eighteenth year of Josiah, who succeeded Manasseh. Thus about three-quarters of a century elasped from the good old days to the finding of the Book of the Law and the reformation that followed. This is a long time. Even in these days of printing and of a million libraries, it is sometimes difficult to find a copy of a book published nearly a hundred years ago, especially if it be a book on a religion *that has died out.* How much more difficult, then, might it be in an age when all books were written by hand and when libraries were few? The dying off of nearly three full generations of peoples who *ignored the Book of the Law* provides exactly the opportunity needed for the experience of the finding, the *real* finding, of a copy of that Book.

Then the introduction of the scribe into the narrative is significant. When Hilkiah discovered the Book of the Law (2 Chron. XXXIV. 14) he gave it unto Shaphan, the scribe, to read it. One's personal experience is one's best guide in such a case. I

recall that when I discovered an inscription at the base of a statue of Rameses the Great at Karnek, I did not call in M. Legrain, the local Superintendent, then away at Assuan, nor send for Professor Maspero at Cairo, nor invoke the services of any "Shaphan the Egyptologist." The love of discovery is too strong in human nature for me to do anything of the sort, when I *could read the inscription myself*. If I could not have read it, I would have called in some "Shaphan." Curiosity is one of the universally dependable qualities of the human soul. The continuity of nature, which is the archaeologist's main support, is unquestionable for the working of curiosity here. If Hilkiah could have read this book, would he not certainly have done so? He would have been almost less than human if the faculty of wonder did not dominate him then. If the book were a product of that age, either a base forgery by Hilkiah and his fellows or a book left over from the days of Hezekiah, would not Hilkiah have been able to read it? The Canaanite script was now employed and had certainly been employed for 178 years, from the time of Mesha, King of Moab, whose use of it has left a monument for us, the Moabite stone; and almost as certainly from the time of the correspondence of Solomon with Hiram, King of Tyre, about 400 years earlier than Mesha. Yet "Hilkiah gave it to Shaphan the scribe and he read it." It was expected of professional scribes, especially those connected with the government, to be able to read diplomatic correspondence. At that

time they must be able to read, especially, the correspondence with Assyria. If this copy of the Law was on tablets in cuneiform, then the account is perfectly natural and intelligible.

Then another and still more significant scene is enacted. "And Shaphan the scribe showed the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king." When Jehoiada had a prophecy of Jeremiah brought him, he took it in his own hands and read it and cut it with a penknife. Had King Josiah no curiosity that he did not take the book and read it himself? Instead, "Shaphan read it before the king." All this is rather amazing, if the book was either a fabrication of some priestly cabal or a genuine work of the time of Hezekiah and thus in a language and script known to educated men. On the other hand, how perfectly natural it all is, if this were a copy of the ancient Law in the original cuneiform, perhaps even the original copy of the Law. It was the custom of the nations round about, both in Egypt and in Assyria-Babylonia, to lay up archives in connection with the temple. However convenient it would be for forgers to see to it that Moses was made to direct the Law to be laid up beside the ark in the house of God, where they claimed to find it, such a charge *actually given* by Moses, as recorded in Deuteronomy (XXXI. 24–27), would be exactly in accord with the custom in Egypt out of which Israel in the wilderness had come.

The form of the statement of Hilkiah concerning this find is also significant: "the book of the Law." If this was altogether a new thing which was being brought out, which they had forged, or which they had really found but of which they knew nothing, the expression would naturally have been indefinite, "A book of Law," i.e , a Law-book, concerning which they would afterwards need to talk with the king and persuade him that it was "by the hand of Moses." But the expression, "the Book of the Law," implied an *historical* book of the Law of which the king had some *traditional knowledge* and about which he would not ask the question so disconcerting for forgers, "what book of the Law?"

3. This leads us at once from the finding of the Law to the intimately associated event, the assumption of the existence of a Mosaic tradition concerning "the book of the Law by the hand of Moses." The claim of finding a book to be received with the authority of some person requires a tradition of the author to whom it is attributed. It is not necessary that there should be tradition concerning the particular book by that author, or, indeed, any book by him. It is sometimes said that the claim of the finding of "the Book of the Law" and its acceptance as from Moses implies tradition of such a book. Not so. Human credulity is capable of queer freaks at times. The book of Mormon found many people to believe and submit to it, though there was no tradition of such a book from Joseph Smith or any other person. The acceptance of this book of the

Law is not even conclusive proof of a tradition that Moses wrote anything, for there have been found those who were ready to believe the apocryphal letter of Jesus to Abgarus to be genuine, though, aside from the story of this letter, there is no tradition that Jesus wrote anything. But the claim to such a find as was announced in the days of Josiah is conclusive proof of current tradition of *great things* concerning the author, Moses, for this book was announced and accepted as "by the hand of Moses." It sets him before the mind as one of whom the people could immediately believe such a product. The claim must have been reasonable; such a person *might have produced either Deuteronomy or the whole Pentateuch.* The claim being reasonable then, it is inherently reasonable now. To set aside that claim, it is not enough to show some way in which the claim may have been false, but there must be produced positive evidence that it was false. A well-articulated theory on the assumption that it is false does not satisfy these requirements.

All these archaeological hints together are not conclusive on the question of the *finding* of the book of the Law, but they all *point one way.* They point to an age when the Sacred Writings of a discarded religion would be lost; to a tradition of a personage so great that he might have produced anything required by any hypothesis of the finding of the Law; to Sacred Writings on tablets, in a foreign tongue and script, which would probably be laid up in the temple either in an earthen pot or foundation deposit

or with some sacred object and thus liable to be found during repairs to the building; and to the actual finding of a book of the Law which the priest and the king could not read, but which must be given to the official court scribe and interpreter to be read. All this is exactly in accord with the idea which the face value of the narrative in the Pentateuch gives, that the book was of the writings of Moses, either Deuteronomy or, more probably, in accord with the common use of the expression, "The book of Law," all of the Pentateuch. Archaeology does find at times many evidences of trick and imposture among ancient peoples; *it finds none whatever here.* On the contrary, it does find many things here in exact accord with the trustworthiness of this record (cf. *Sunday School Times*, August 11, 1916).

The Moses required for the acceptance of the book "found" according to the Documentary Theory is not the Moses of the Documentary Theory, but the Moses of the Pentateuch. Professor Naville has well said that it seems very doubtful whether the Moses of the critics would appear important to the redactor's contemporaries. Would such a Moses be an indisputable authority, whose name would give currency to a book pieced together in a later age by a redactor and attributed to him? Again Naville says: "The Moses whose mere name commands respect and obedience, and who would silence opposition, is the man whose character and actions come out of the traditional view of the Pen-

tateuch" (Naville, Annual Address before the Victorian Institute, June 21, 1915). On the supposition of the modern critical view of the Pentateuch, there was no Moses who was so great a hero as that the books might successfully be attributed to him. In fact, those who hold to the view of the critical Moses have to bring up the "traditional Moses" to conjure with. They are in much the same predicament as the witch of Endor, who called for the Samuel of Magic and got the real Samuel.

Now how far back does this Moses tradition reach? Could it have arisen without a Moses, without *the Moses of the tradition?* Could it have arisen at any time subsequent to the days of the real Moses? Could anybody bring out and foist upon the public today a book of laws in the name of the great American national hero Washington, of whom there has not been to this time a tradition of even oral laws? In fact, once the Moses tradition is admitted at all (and its assumption is absolutely necessary to the promulgation of laws in his name in the days of Josiah), there is no place to stop in the search for its origin until we come to the days of Moses. There is much to be said for the opinion expressed by one of the critics of the day, that the strongest argument for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is the universal and abiding tradition of the Jewish people that he did write the books of the Law. A tradition long continued, universally held by those to whom it is of interest, and not inherently improbable, is like an archive long accepted

without dispute; it has the strong presumption of truth in its favor and can only be set aside by evidence of the most positive character.

III. The chronology of the times. It is sometimes said that chronology is the frame-work of history. The definition is true, but not correct, because inexact. It always contains tacitly the assumption of our modern occidental system of chronology, based upon astronomical time and reckoned from some epoch. So the definition is true, but inexact, because the presupposition usually allowed to go with it is false. Chronology is the frame-work of history, and without the frame-work there is no history, but there may be a great deal of real history without a trace of *our system* of chronology as a frame-work. It may be learned, for example, that a certain event took place in the history of Israel at the same time that certain other events were transpiring in Egypt and still other events in Babylonia, and that certain succeeding events in the history of Israel were also contemporaneous with certain succeeding events in Egypt and Babylonia. There may be a long list of these sychronisms in regular order in the life story of these nations. In fact, there are such synchronisms everywhere and always. Life is lived in synchronisms, not in successions; successions are only half experience, the other half is memory. Such a list of synchronisms may then exist in the history of Israel, Egypt and Babylonia, and that without the slightest intimation of the time elapsing between each preceding

synchronism and the next succeeding one, and with no information whatever how long B.C. any one of these events took place. Such a list of succeeding synchronisms in regular order would be very valuable historical knowledge, though without a trace of our modern epochal chronology according to astronomical time. In fact, this is almost exactly what we have, and all we have, in Old Testament history. It is history in layers. Is not the history of the world in layers, exactly as the German word for history, *Geschichte*, conceives it to be; something stratified?

A look at the materials of early Old Testament chronology will help us much to understand its characteristics. There are genealogies; as the "generations of the son of Adam" (Gen. 5), the "generations of the sons of Noah" (Gen. X). Then there are certain isolated passages that give some note of time, as Genesis XVII. 1, XXV. 20; Exodus XII. 41, 1 Kings VI. 1. Last of all, there are long accounts of the kings of Judah and Israel with chronological notes connecting certain events, or persons, with each other as contemporaneous or separated by a specified time. Sometimes this latter amounts to a kind of temporary epochal chronology, the particular epoch being used in but one instance. There is, however, nothing anywhere claiming to be, or appearing to be, an epochal *system* of chronology.

The genealogical lists form no reliable basis for building systems of chronology. That prince of Hebrew scholars, Professor William Henry Green,

showed many years ago (*Princeton Review*, April, 1893) that the Hebrew use of the words for "father," "son" and "beget" will not warrant any use of genealogies as a basis for chronology. The facts cited by Dr. Green are indisputable. But if anyone be not satisfied with his argument, there is a still higher authority that seems finally conclusive; the Biblical writers themselves who give the genealogies and others who wrote through all the centuries that followed and who certainly understood the genealogies, *never used these genealogies as a basis of chronology*, they never sum up the years from them, never refer to them as giving any definite information of the flight of time.

There is, in fact, no such thing as epochal chronology in the early Old Testament writings, no intimation that the people of that day had any conception of such a chronology. Nor has any epochal chronology to the present time been put into the Old Testament with entire success by any of all the chronologists of the world. At least, it can be asserted with absolute positiveness that not more than one person has ever succeeded, and he in not more than one edition of his work! For no two authors or editions ever agree! The work of the chronologists is valuable and not to be underestimated for its own particular value. It is a great help to us, like the dates estimated for Egyptian and Babylonian history. But we must never forget that the dates calculated or assigned are not Biblical, and are never to be used to combat Biblical

evidence or compose Biblical difficulties which these estimated chronologies themselves ofttimes create. Biblical data are to correct chronologies, and not to be corrected by them.

What are the characteristics of the Bible's own chronology? For one thing, the Bible chronicles events rather than the flight of time, man's relation to life rather than his relation to time. How else could it be where they had no clocks or calendars? Is it not always so with children who have not begun to use these modern conveniences? They date one event by another contemporaneous event. The little one says, "Mother, it was the day you took me to town." It is so also to this day among the people in the wilderness of Sinai. I was once making arrangements for a journey in the wilderness and suggested to the intermediary that he put a clause in the contract to the effect that we might stop a few days along the way, if we wished to do so. "Oh," said he, "that is not necessary. They will not count the time. They never do so. They have neither clocks nor calendars. They only take account of the journey. Time is nothing to them; it is the thing they have more of than anything else! They agree to take you to Mount Sinai and back; you may take three weeks or three months for the journey. It makes no difference to them." I found it to be exactly as the intermediary said. Many instances might be cited to show that early, and even late, Biblical writers chronicled events rather than the flight of time. The following will suffice

as illustrations: Deuteronomy I–III summarizes the many marvelous events of the preceding history of God's people without a hint of the flight of time; a month, a year, a century being passed over in exactly the same way. Nothing more definite is found in such descriptions than "after" or rarely "a long time." The same method is followed by Joshua in his summary of God's dealings with the people of Israel (Josh. XXIV. 1–13), and even in Stephen's apology in New Testament times (Acts VII. 1–53).

Then the early Biblical writers trace events upon the plane of contemporaneity rather than in the line of succession. We use both methods, but the formative principle with us is succession; the ancient Biblical writers also used both, but the formative principle with them was contemporaneity. One needs only to read a few minutes in the books of Kings and Chronicles to find abundant illustration of this fact. "Now in the eighteenth year of King Jereboam began Abijah to reign over Judah" (2 Chron. XIII. 1); this will be recognized at once as the characteristic method of the chronology of the times. The writers looked around them in writing history, rather than backward; contemporaneity, not succession, was their dominating principle.

Again it is to be noted that, in so far as the early Biblical writers looked backward, perspective rather than duration of time was their form of conception. The oriental does not see sharply in the distance. This physical limitation is to be seen in all his con-

ceptions of time, whether in history or in prophecy. Indeed, the prophetic method that saw things in perspective, looking through one event to a succeeding event, was used with only slight modification in the historical conceptions of early Biblical writers. The exact flight of time was not always noted, even if known; the events were exhibited in perspective and the note of passing time frequently dropped out altogether.

So it is manifest that order, synchronism and proportion were the determining factors in early Old Testament chronology. The moral, rather than the mathematical, conception of man's relation to time dominated. The order of events was usually scrupulously observed, but, in any case, the importance of things in relation to the history of redemption was made to stand out, and events were synchronized with each other.

Last of all, while our modern chronology according to astronomical time views all events from a fixed point in the past, the early Biblical chronology viewed them from the moving point of the present. The conception of the years among Biblical writers of that time was, in this respect, exactly the same as our conception of the days. As we think of things during the day as so many hours *ago*, or at the time of some other event, if we do not know how long ago it was, so they thought of the past as so long *ago*, or as at the time of some other event; as when it is said, "in the year of the earthquake," or "in the year that King Uzziah died."

With these principles and facts in mind, the Pentateuchal times will have a new significance for us. Some events of Pentateuchal history are definitely fixed in their place in Egyptian history by the monuments. It is true that there is sharp and almost bitter disputation among Egyptologists, as well as among critics, about the time of all the events of the Exodus period. All turns about one question; did the Exodus take place in the XVIII. dynasty, under one of the Amenhoteps (cf. Budge, *History of Egypt*, V, p. 127), or in the XIX. dynasty under Meremptah? Much can be said on either side of the question. Whatever conclusion anyone reaches, he always does so by passing by many serious difficulties. Yet a conclusion may be logically and safely reached. Lincoln once said to a colleague in discussing the trial of a case: "Every case, like every door, turns upon hinges. Find the hinges and point them out to the jury and let all the other evidence pass unnoticed." It is so in the case of the time of the Exodus. The Bible says Israel built Pithom (Ex. I. 11). The ruins of that city were uncovered by Professor Naville in 1883 (*The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, Egyp. Ex. Fund, 1883; cf. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, p. 41) with its name on the great gateway and with also this inscription of Rameses the Great: "I built Pithom at the mouth of the east," i.e., "a frontier city." Rameses was, indeed, a great plagiarist, who appropriated many of the works and inscriptions of his predecessors, but he did not pla-

giarize this inscription. It has not been tampered with. Rameses did build Pithom, and the Israelite slaves built Pithom. On these two hinges the whole case turns. Whatever difficulties there may be on the one side or the other, Israel cannot be separated from Rameses the Great as the oppressor and Merenptah, his successor, as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, in accord with the Biblical statement, "All the men are dead which sought thy life" (Ex. IV. 19).

There has, indeed, been much dispute about the discoveries of Naville at Pithom and much disposition in later times to discredit his report (cf. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 4; also *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 26). In 1908, while in Egypt, I carefully examined the ruins of Pithom with Naville's report in hand and found the report perfectly accurate in every respect and rather understated than overstated. The walled city is plainly marked in all its outline, the fortress, the temple, the parade-ground and the store-chambers are still there and unmistakable. The bricks are laid in mortar contrary to the usual Egyptian custom and contrary to the observation of explorers in Egypt previous to the time of Naville's discovery at Pithom. The lower courses, in at least some of the store-chamber work, are laid with brick filled with good chopped straw; the upper courses made of brick having in them no binding material whatever, and the middle courses are made of brick *filled with stubble pulled up by the roots*. The impress of the roots is as plainly marked in the brick as though cut

by an engraver's tools. It is of special interest, also that since the time of Naville's discovery, a tombstone has been found commemorating a priest of that region, and calling the district *Thuku*, the exact Egyptian equivalent of Succoth. Thus the Biblical account is exactly confirmed in every particular.

Starting with this synchronism of Rameses, and the Israelite slaves at Pithom, note the sequence of years. Upon Rameses' death, the Lord came to Moses in the wilderness commanding him to return to Egypt. We may allow one year for the call of Moses, the arranging of his affairs, and his return to Egypt. No one familiar with the leisurely ways of the Orient will think a year too long. The plagues occupied a full year, as is clearly indicated by the natural events which embodied these miraculous occurrences, each of which natural events follows in regular order, in its own season, as we have seen in the study of the plagues in the first lecture. Two years elasped from the departure from Egypt until the arrival at Kadesh Barnea (Num. X. 11; Deut. II. 14). Thus the turning back was in the fifth year of Moses.

Meremptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, who had immediately succeeded Rameses, and under whom the insurrection took place at the work at Pithom, caused to be erected for himself at the Ramesseum opposite Karnak in Upper Egypt a tablet recounting in poetry the glory of the achievements of his reign, together with many of the achievements of his ancestors. Among his own

achievements are these: "Tehennu is devastation; Kheta peace; Canaan the victim of all ills; taken is Asqelon led out with Gezer, Yenoamam is made nought; Israel is destroyed, her seed is not; Khar is become as a widow for Egypt." Seven other places are mentioned with Israel, six before the mention of Israel and one after. Each of these names of places has after it, in the inscription, two determinatives, meaning, respectively, "an alien people" and "with an own country." Six peoples are so designated in the inscription and then Israel is described with the first determinative only, "an alien people;" there is no determinative for "own country." Israel was not yet entered into the Promised Land; was either still in Egypt or already on the way.

The contention of some archaeologists and most critics that the "seed" of Israel mentioned in the inscription means their "crops," on the ground that the Egyptian word for "seed," *pert*, never means anything but "crops" or "grain," is not in accord with the facts. In the inscription of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari (*Deir el Bahari*, I, pl. xix.) occur these words addressed to the queen by her reputed father, the god Amon: "issue, holy issue." The word here translated "issue," about the meaning of which there cannot be the least doubt, is the same word translated "seed" in the Israel inscription. It is, indeed, reinforced in a way to make its figurative use more striking; for, whereas, in the Israel inscription the word has the determinative

of "grains" of wheat or other grain, in this inscription it has not only the determinative of "grains," but also the determinative of a "plow." And still it means "child." Imagine a father addressing his daughter as "crops, holy crops!" Egypt had made desperate efforts, for how long no one knows, to destroy boy babies among the Israelites and so make that people characteristically a nation of women, and thus the more easily controlled as slaves. How naturally, then, poetic adulation of Meremptah, when Israel had been turned back at Kadesh Barnea into the wilderness, thought of them as "a lot of women, anyway," and poetic hyperbole said of them, "Their seed is not."

The places mentioned in the inscription before Israel cannot all be located with absolute certainty. The "Tehennu" were in North Africa; "Kheta" far to the north in Syria beyond the Orontes; "The Canaanites" is a vague designation apparently for the central part of Palestine from north to south; there is no doubt about the location of "Asqelon" and "Gezer," and as Yenoamam is mentioned with them instead of before Canaan, it could hardly have been the northern Yenoamam up near the Kheta, but rather a nearby town, probably that which in Maccabean and later times was called Jamnia, which was near Asqelon and Gezer. "Khar," the last-mentioned place, is a name for Palestine by way of the Dead Sea, as "Yankeeland" is a name for the United States from the New England quarter. Israel is thus in the inscription placed between the Asqelon-Gezer-Yenoamam district on the west

and the Dead Sea region on the east. This indicates exactly *the Kadesh Barnea district for the location of Israel.*

The final gibe of the poet is that "Khar," Palestine, is made to mourn for the people that did not come in, like the widows of Egypt for their lost husbands. One can almost see the sneer and hear the sarcastic chuckle with which Meremptah and his courtiers read these witty words of the court poet.

Now all this had taken place when? The inscription is dated in the fifth year of Meremptah. As Meremptah succeeded immediately to the throne upon the death of Rameses the Great and the call of Moses, it is thus seen that with mathematical precision the fifth year of Meremptah is by these corroborating data the fifth year of Moses.

Here are very exact sychronisms from the building of Pithom to the turning back at Kadesh Barnea year by year. Such is the frame-work of real history, and a certain mark of historicity, covering, as it does, such a large portion of the Pentateuchal history, it carries its guarantee of accuracy into all that portion of the history and spreads the mantle of trustworthiness over all that record. In the days of Moses such minuteness of precision in historical dates is entirely reasonable: how could it be so six or eight centuries later? Could not inspiration give such accuracy at a later date or at several later dates, as in the time of Hezekiah, at the finding of the Law in the days of Josiah, or in the time of the Exile? Of course, inspiration could do that. *But only those who believe in such inspiration may avail*

themselves of such help. Those who hold to the late date of this Pentateuchal account deny any *such* inspiration for any part of the Bible. And can anyone think that the God of truth would give such inspiration for verbal, even mathematical, accuracy to those engaged in an attempt to construct history, invent the Tabernacle and its religious ceremonial, and give all this to the world in the name of an inflated national hero whose colossal figure had in the imagination of later writers grown to its greatness from very small original proportions!

Much is said about the value of the historical method in these days; too much can hardly be said for it. Ours is an historical religion having an historical sacred book. The historical method, where fully applicable, is final in its conclusions. In the consideration of historical data, *whatever is, is true,* and nothing else is true; so anachronisms are fatal. Biblical scholarship accepts these demands in the name of the historical method, and is ready to respond to every challenge and submit all data of an historical religion to the rigid tests of the historical method, wherever these tests are applicable. The data for the application of the historical method to this part of Biblical history are not as yet complete; but, as far as accuracy in such data is attainable, the facts, whether passing allusions, the record of historical events, or the chronology of the period, all contribute toward one conclusion, that the Pentateuchal history is trustworthy and contemporary history, and that these data of archaeological Pentateuchal times indicate the times of the Pentateuch.

LECTURE IV

Light on the Tabernacle and its Furniture, and the Vestments of the Priests

There are two sharply contrasted and competing views concerning the Tabernacle narrative. On the one hand there is a view that takes the Pentateuchal narrative of the wilderness journey and of the Tabernacle in the wilderness at its face value; that accepts as a fact its plain, categorical claims for an objective revelation at Sinai and throughout the forty years of Moses' leadership; and that considers, as the New Testament does, the ceremonial system to be definitely authorized symbolism of the way of approach to God.

This view of the narrative of the wilderness experiences is the view not only of the Pentateuch, but of all the early Old Testament books; Joshua with its use of the Ark at the entrance into the Promised Land (III. 14–17, VI. 8–16), its frequent reference to the leadership and legislation of Moses (I. 3, 5, 7, 13–15, 17; XI. 15, 20, 23; XII. 6; XIV. 3–11; XX. 2–6; XXIII–XXIV); and the invitation to the two and half tribes already settled in their inheritance east of the Jordan to come over to the national place of worship (XXII.); the books of Judges and 1 Samuel, with their peaceful pictures of the pilgrimages of the pious to Shiloh (Judg.

XVIII. 31; XXI. 19; 1 Sam. I, 3; 9, 24; III. 21) and the tragic account of the loss of the Ark to the Philistines and of its recovery (1 Sam. IV–VI.), and the narrative of the triumphant bringing up of the Ark to the capital city in the days of David (2 Sam. VI. 17, and especially 2 Sam. VII. 6). Then we have the specific references in the books of Kings and the Chronicles to the Tabernacle itself (1 Kings I. 39; II. 28; VIII. 4; 1 Chron. VI. 48; XXI. 29; 2 Chron. V. 5), besides the elaborate description of the Temple which the later Old Testament narrative assumes to have succeeded the Tabernacle (Ps. XXVII. 5–6; LXI. 4; Jer. X. 20; Ezek. XLI. 1) as a grander development of it. There are also the historical Psalms (LXXVIII. CV., CVI.), together with a number of references throughout the Psalms to the ceremonial Law (XL. 6; L. 5, 8, 13; LI. 19; LXXXI. 3). Finally there is the special historical reference of Jeremiah to Shiloh (VII. 12, 14; XXVI. 6, 9), which writes in, as an assumption, the whole Tabernacle history in the times of the prophets; while the assumption of the historical books that the Temple carried forward the Tabernacle and its service is carried on through the prophets (Jer. VII. 14; X. 20; XXVI. 6–9; Ezek. XLI. 1). There is thus, in Old Testament history, no break, but steady progress rather, in the conception of things religious and the symbolism of them.

That the narrative of the wilderness journey and of the Tabernacle in the wilderness was to be taken literally was also the view of John the Baptist. He

recalled the Passover in the exclamation, "Behold, the Lamb of God;" it was the view of our Lord himself when he spoke of the "bread that came down from heaven," and of the serpent that was lifted up in the wilderness. It was the view of the beloved disciple concerning our Lord when he described him as having "tabernacled among us" (Jn. I. 14, Greek), and it is categorically stated in the historical review given by Steven (Acts VII.). Last of all, it was the view expressed or implied in several of the Epistles (1 Cor. V. 7; Eph. V. 2, 26; Tit. III. 5), and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews gives itself up almost entirely to the great purpose of showing that the Tabernacle and its Ceremonial Law were fulfilled in the life and work and sufferings of the sacrificing Priest of "the true Tabernacle which God pitched, and not man" (Heb. VIII. 2). This same view of the historicity of the Tabernacle narrative was the inheritance of the Christian Church and is the view still held by the great body of professed Christian people throughout the world.

The other view of the narrative of the Tabernacle and the wilderness journey is the view involved in the Documentary Theory. In the words of Wellhausen concerning that narrative, "The Tabernacle is simply a means of putting the law of the unity of worship into a historical form." That is to say, the historical portion of the narrative is pure fiction, fabricated history, mere allegory, in order to idealize the Ceremonial system connected with it.

This means not only that the symbolism of the Tabernacle and its ceremonial law were beautiful works of imagination to help the spiritual understanding, but that the events and the objects and the ceremonies are all products of the imagination, either in themselves or in their use by Israel or both, and thrown back upon the screen of antiquity to give historical form to the law of the unity of worship. Moreover, it means also that this was not an entirely innocent use of the imagination to help the intellect and the heart, but a use of it with the immoral purpose of giving fictitious merit to a sacerdotal system in order to secure acceptance for it by means of the forged authority of the great national hero and of *God himself*.

The former of these views concerning the Tabernacle narrative, that there was a real Tabernacle in a real wilderness sojourn as recorded in the Pentateuch, places all the events and the record of them immediately under Egyptian influence; the latter view, that the Tabernacle and its Ceremonial and many of the actually recorded events of the wilderness journey are fictitious, places all this fictitious narrative of pious imaginings at a late date, about the end of the Exile or subsequent to it, and thus immediately under Babylonian influences.

So it becomes apparent that the examination of the Tabernacle and its furniture, and the vestments of the priests, as described in the Pentateuchal account, in comparison with the art and architecture of Egypt and Babylonia, ought to throw much

light upon the question of the origin of the narrative and enable us to decide between the two contesting views of that narrative. If the narrative originated under Egyptian influences, they ought to be discernible; if under Babylonian influences, they, also, ought to be as plainly discernible. Consideration of the great sacrificial system contained in the ceremonial of the Tabernacle will be reserved, however, for a subsequent lecture.

Now, when we come to the examination itself, it is to be noted that whichever view of the Tabernacle narrative is taken, the "pattern showed in the mount" is meant to control the whole narrative. All things in the description were to be like that pattern showed in the mount, whether the showing in the mount was a real event in history or only a pious romance.

The narrative represents that Moses was the builder of the Tabernacle and that God, as the architect, gave instruction to the builder for the building which he was to produce. The mandatory accompanying the instruction was, "See thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount" (Heb. VIII. 5, summing up Ex. XXV. 40; XXVI. 30; XXVII. 8; Num. VIII. 4). So the architect always directs the builder to "follow the specifications." Such direction is merely authority to build according to certain plans, but implies nothing concerning the plans. They may be perfectly familiar to the builder, they may have in them some features that are new, or they may be

an entirely new creation of the architect's skill. If one would know the plan, he may do so by examining the specifications or the building erected, or both. So the plan showed in the mount might be something entirely new in architecture in this world; it might be a combination of things new and old; or it might be something perfectly familiar to Moses the builder. The direction to "make all things according to the pattern" implies nothing concerning the character of the pattern, and nothing may be assumed. It may be known only from the building afterward erected, of which we have description in the Tabernacle narrative. What, according to this description, was the pattern "showed in the mount?"

I. It was not a Babylonian pattern. Criticism, in the name, and in the interests, of the Documentary Theory of the composition of the Pentateuch has constantly assumed that the pattern "showed in the mount" was a Babylonian pattern. The Documentary Theory demands, as we have seen, that it should be a plan made by a school of priests and scribes at a late date and entirely under Babylonian influences. Some critics in the name of archaeology have very strongly asserted that the plan was Babylonian. Some of these with such views concerning the Tabernacle have not been of those who hold the Documentary Theory. It is, then, of the utmost importance now not only to hear the conclusions reached by these critics and examine the grounds upon which they rest their

conclusions, but, also, then to examine most carefully the evidence for ourselves.

Professor Jastrow as both critic and archaeologist, and thoroughly competent in either field, is an admirable exponent, and the most recent, of the view in question. He makes most unequivocal statement as follows: "Through the work of Peters and Haynes, scholars were enabled for the first time to obtain a more definite view of the religious architecture of early Babylonia, which was closely followed in Assyria, though with some modifications. The temple proper was divided into two courts, an outer and an inner one. In the outer one stood the altar to which the sacrifices were brought. It was here that the people assembled, while the inner court leading to the holy of holies, in which the statue of the deity stood, was accessible to the priest only. Attached to the temple, either behind it or to one side, was the stage-tower, the stories of which, as already pointed out, varied from two to seven stages, one set upon the other, and each succeeding stage being somewhat smaller until the top was reached." "The general arrangement of these temples, as we shall have occasion to see in more detail in the chapter on the architecture and art, was in all cases the same, following an ancient prototype which provided an outer and an inner court of almost parellel dimensions, with a corridor leading from the inner court to the innermost smaller chamber, reserved for the priests and the rulers, and in which, enclosed in a niche, the image of the

deity in whose honor the temple was erected stood." "The prominent feature of the temple as the house of the gods was an outer court immediately back of the entrance, from which one entered into a long vestibule leading into a second court with a large hall at one end, at the back of which there was a recess or a small chamber to receive the image of the god" (Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 49, 270, 372).

This description of the Babylonian temple architecture sounds very disconcerting, indeed, for those who hold that the Tabernacle architecture was not Babylonian. But let us look at the statements of Peters and Haynes in their account of the explorations, upon which Jastrow wholly depends as authority for his description, and, after that, we will examine for ourselves the facts of the material remains.

Doctor Peters says: "The ziggurat of the temple of Bel at Nippur, or rather the temple itself, with the ziggurat as apex, was an artificial mountain. . . . . The small brick structure that crowned the ziggurat was the mysterious dwelling-place of the unseen god, emblem of the tabernacle above the clouds, and in so far similar to the holy of holies of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. At the base of the ziggurat stood the altar at which were offered the sacrifices to the god that dwelt upon the summit." "This altar occupied in relation to the ziggurat substantially the same position which the altar in the temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem occupied

to the holy place of that temple. Access was had to the terraces of the ziggurat by means of a causeway, a little to the south of the altar. This causeway was relatively quite narrow, and the ascent was very gradual, but whether there were steps or merely an inclined plane cannot be determined" (*Nippur* II, pp. 122 and 125) (pl. I).

This Babylonian temple, when vizualized, presents such appearance as this: A very large open court is at the front; back of this is to be seen, not a covered building, but another open court, with "presumably" an altar. Beyond this and at some distance from it rises a tower far into the heavens. This was not a house, but a tower apparently solid throughout, and with various stages in its height. Each of these stages retreats from the dimensions of the base of the preceding stage. On the top of this solid structure was a shrine and in the shrine an image of the god.

In comparison with this collection of enclosures and solid structure now vizualize the Tabernacle and the Temple of Jehovah. A small tower is at the entrance, which is surrounded by an open court. This tower is in the style of every Egyptian temple with its towering portals. Beyond the court and the entrance tower is a holy place, not an "open court," but a covered room, and immediately beyond this, and in close connection with it, and on the same level or but little elevated above it is the Holy of Holies (cf. Caldecott, *The Tabernacle*, p. 166; also *Solomon's Temple*, plan) (pl. II, fig. 1).

Do these two vizualizations look alike to the eye of the mind? Could they look much more unlike? They served *much the same purpose*, and it is this like purpose that is described by Professor Jastrow and others. But that these different structures served the same purpose does not touch the question at issue, the similarity of architecture, at all. The purpose served was widespread, if not universal throughout the Biblical orient, from the Nile to the Euphrates. By such reasoning from purpose and use one might prove that the modern high and slender architecture of the sky-scraper of our great American cities was identical with the low, one-storied architecture of ancient Greece, because, forsooth, it serves the same purpose of housing business and furnishing homes for the people and temples for the gods!! It is not the purpose to be served by the architecture, but the way in which the purpose is served by the architecture that is to prove it Babylonian; not the purpose of the architecture, but the architecture itself. Moreover, similarity of architecture gives similarity in appearance of general outline. There is no such similarity in appearance between the Tabernacle and Temple and the temples of Babylonia. It is to be noted also that the conception of the temple tower was totally different in Egypt and in Babylonia. In Egypt it is in imitation of the great portal for defense; in Babylonia, in imitation of the supposed mountain home of the gods (Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 448).

Examination in detail of the material remains of the Babylonian temples will make still clearer how utterly unlike are they to the Tabernacle, and to the Temple at Jerusalem, however similar may have been the purpose served by each.

The temple of Bel at Nippur presents what at first glance seems inextricable confusion of courts and corridors, rooms and towers. It is now possible, of course, to see not the temple itself, but only the excavation of the temple. But as the excavations followed the walls, they mark with a fair degree of clearness the main compartments of the temple. The first and most striking feature of the outline is a great exterior wall set with its corners almost to the points of the compass. It is almost fifty feet thick at the base and attains a height in some places of sixty feet (Peters, *Nippur*, II, map, p. 142). At the north corner of the enclosure was a round tower. Near the center of the enclosure was a great ziggurat of peculiar shape having buttress-like projections on each of the four sides. It is now impossible to tell how many stages were in the ascent of the tower, but from the great size of the base this was probably a ziggurat of seven stages, as these structures are believed sometimes to have been. The excavations show a large enclosure to the south of the ziggurat, while to the east lay another confusion of courts or rooms. It is not possible from the extent to which the excavations have been carried to determine accurately all the compartments of the temple, but it would certainly require a vivid imagi-

nation to vizualize in this temple any architectural resemblance to the appearance of the Tabernacle or the Temple at Jerusalem. The irregularity of the walls suggest anything else than similarity to these buildings of Israel.

The restoration of the Temple of Ninib in Babylon shows that this building was composed, for the most part, of one great open court, surrounded on all four sides by small rooms, many of these, also, open to the sky. The great entrance is at one end of the temple, with a small entrance or exit at the other end. The ziggurat tower is not shown in the restoration, but imagination may supply it nearby, but detached, and towering high in the heavens. The most vivid imagination would be appalled at the requirement that it should see any resemblance here to the Tabernacle or the Temple of Jehovah, though the general religious purposes of assemblage, sacrifice, and devotion at a shrine were served (pl. II, fig. 2).

No ancient ziggurat remains intact. Enough, however, remains of the ruins of these structures to show that they were constructed of successive stages rising above each other, each succeeding stage receding from the edge of the preceding stage as a platform. The recession, however, was not equal on all sides, but so arranged as to cause the tower to draw off toward one corner as it rose. The Arabs in later centuries imitated these stage towers by a round tower with a spiral inclined ascent. But nothing either in the appearance of these ziggurats,

ancient or modern, or in their location at the end of the building farthest from the entrance and usually detached from it, suggests any resemblance whatever to the high portal of the Tabernacle and of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Such, in general, were the temples of Babylonia. That anyone should say that there is architectural resemblance between these temples and the Tabernacle is an amazing example of the influence of preconceptions, and the mingling of religious purpose with architectural forms. That the religious purpose served by the Babylonian temples was similar to that served by the Tabernacle is true, as is true concerning all the temples of the heathen round about in those lands and those centuries, and all along the course of the centuries and throughout the heathen world to the present time. There is always a place for the people, a place where the people meet with the priest, and a shrine of the god or of God.

Such being the universal arrangement for worship that is not highly spiritual, it can prove nothing in any case concerning the influences and origins represented in any particular case. It is the outer architectural form that is significant of the place in which it originated and the influences under which it was made. By this criterion, the Babylonian evidence shows that the pattern "showed in the mount" was not Babylonian.

II. Since the pattern of the building "showed in the mount" was not Babylonian, was it then

Egyptian? Ancient Egyptian architecture displays almost the only illustration we have of uniform order and symmetry in Egyptian ideas. Consistency and homogeneousness seem to be, in most things, least in the thought of the Egyptian. But not only is ancient Egyptian architecture a most orderly development from a single simple idea, but even modern peasant architecture of Egypt follows exactly the same pattern. This pattern of Egyptian architecture, of which influence throughout the centuries may best be examined by beginning at the present day manifestation of it in the peasant homes of Egypt and in some adaptions of it to peculiar conditions.

The modern country house in Egypt is a crude and unattractive structure of sundried brick with flat roof, and a space marked off beside it, or in front of it, and sometimes roofed over with a shelter of stalks. This enclosed place is kept fairly well swept. It is the place where the head of the house meets his friends and chats in the "wind" of the evening. It corresponds to the "pavement" (RV) at the palace of Tahpahnes mentioned by Jeremiah (XLIII. 9). The house proper, beyond this open court, is divided into two compartments. The first is semi-private, into which the host may take a distinguished guest, and it is the common family meeting-place within doors. The second, or inner, compartment, is the place of the women, strictly private, into which a strange man would hardly venture except at the risk of his life (pl. III, fig. 1).

In the villages the houses are much the same as in the country, but ofttimes with a difference in the court occasioned by the lack of room. From some height, as the pylon of the Temple of Edfu, one may look down into the village below. Many houses cluster around a court like a small public square; it is the court used in common by all the houses opening upon it. Within, the houses are all arranged as the peasant house already described.

This form of dwelling is imitated by the Bedouin even in their villages. There is still the common court with the various frail structures for houses opening upon it, each with its semi-public and its strictly private room. The wandering family of Bedouin also pitches its brown tent, sweeps a little place in front of it, spreads a rug, and puts up a partition in the tent that the inviolable privacy of the women may be maintained. Even the modern explorer finds it desirable to follow the custom of the land and erect a little mud wall to enclose a court and arrange his house that there may be a place in which to meet the public and another place in which he can be secure from intrusion.

Now the peasant of ancient Egypt built his house in exactly the same way that is now followed by his modern successor; the three-fold architectural theme always dominated. None of the frail structures made for the dwelling-places of the ancient Egyptian peasants has remained, but, fortunately, the piety of the ancient Egyptian, which provided soul houses in the graves of the dead, has left to us

from the tombs of Asyut little models of the ancient homes. There is still the open court and the two rooms, an outer and an inner room, this latter the most private apartment. Sometimes the house was made with two stories and one compartment placed above (pl. III, fig. 2).

The wealthy and the noble and the princes elaborated the common idea of the house, but did not essentially change it. The palace had around it a great wall to keep out the waters of the inundation, had its pools, and perhaps even fountains, in the court, and was beautified by shade trees and flowers, yet had still the threefold idea of the house; the court open to the public, where visitors came and went freely, the more private part of the house into which visitors were less frequently taken, and the part strictly reserved for the family (pl. IV).

The ancient Egyptian tomb was, to the Egyptian, simply the house of the dead, made according to exactly the same pattern as the house of the living. Most of the poor had probably no tomb at all, but a very humble place in the sand. The wealthy and the noble, however, all who could afford it, and especially the royal princes, prepared an elaborate tomb and in it always preserved the idea of the pattern of the house. Sometimes the tomb of the wealthy, like his palace, was greatly elaborated, some of the apartments being duplicated a number of times, and many side chambers added, but the general plan was always retained. There was an outer court, sometimes no more than

an open space in front of the tomb, sometimes enclosed with the other parts of the tomb. There was, second, an ante-chamber to which offerings were brought and into which the dead man was supposed to come to partake of the food provided. Back of this was the room reserved for the dead man himself, into which no one was to enter. The predatory propensities of Egyptian thieves resulted in great precautions being taken to guard against tomb robbing. The tomb-chamber proper was even at times left empty; a pit descended to a hidden crypt far below in which the body was actually placed. But this was only a modification in the interest of safety. The threefold pattern of the Egyptian house of the dead remained the same.

The temple was the house of the gods, and the pattern of this house was also the universally prevalent threefold pattern. Perhaps this can nowhere be so well seen as from the great pylon at Edfou (pl. V. fig. 1). Immediately below is the open court in which the people assembled. Beyond was the great Hall of columns in which the priest received the individual worshipper, while still beyond lay the shrine of the god (Maspero, *L'Archaeologie Aegyptienne*, pp. 70 and 73). The examination of the whole ground plan of the temple would, of course, show many little side rooms and corridors (pl. V, fig. 2. In some more elaborate temples, the various rooms were duplicated and the whole temple thus much enlarged, but the simple threefold plan stands out most distinctly (Maspero, *L'Archaeologie Aegyptienne*, Chapters I. to III., especially pp. 68–69 and 108–109).

There was also a gradual, but slight, elevation in the progress from the court and the holy place to the place of the shrine. There was a constant narrowing, also, to give the effect that, with the ascending, one was also becoming enclosed. The shrine itself was a small room and in perpetual darkness. There was no window and a thick curtain closed the entrance.

Thus the threefold pattern characterized the Egyptian house of every kind in all ages (cf. Maspero, *L'Archaeologie Aegyptienne*, Chapters I.–III). This was the pattern of the Egyptian "great house," the palace, the pattern of the Egyptian house of the dead, and of the house of the god, and this was exactly the "pattern showed in the mount." The direction was, "See thou make all things according to the pattern showed." The pattern showed was an Egyptian pattern. There is the same outer court of large dimensions, open to the sky and open to all the people. There is the Holy Place into which the priests went, rising slightly above the court and much restricted in its dimensions. Last of all was the small Holy of Holies, closed in front by a curtain, where dwelt the Shekinah glory manifesting the presence of Jehovah. Aside from this glory, it had no light. The one thing that distinguished this Tabernacle most, not in its architecture, but in the presence of the Lord, was that, while the Egyptian god, after the widespread conception of God among the heathen, dwelt in darkness, the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle was filled with

light. God had revealed himself to Moses at the burning bush, not as one dwelling in darkness, but as the Light of the World, and now his presence is made a place of light.

Consideration of the furniture and other articles in the Tabernacle, the vestments of the priests and the shadowing of wings yields like interesting results. It is not possible to learn much concerning some of the furniture in the Tabernacle among the nations round about; concerning some of the objects, comparison yields nothing whatever. Altars, lavers and censors seem to have been common to all early oriental religions so that comparison here yields practically nothing for this discussion.

The Ark and the things connected with it, the copy of the Law, the manna pot and Aaron's rod present a more promising field of investigation. Babylonian religion supplies nothing that affords comparison. Archives, indeed great archives, were kept, and the temples were the depositories of such archives, but the tablets were not laid up in anything resembling the Ark of the Covenant. They were usually deposited in layers upon shelves (Richardson, *Biblical Libraries*, pp. 45–53). In Egypt, on the other hand, the sacred box or ark was a common article of furniture in the temples, and it contained, especially, the sacred rolls of papyrus. Some of these sacred boxes have been found. They were of wood, beautifully decorated, in size nearly resembling the Ark of the Covenant. Other arks are pictured upon the monuments of more beau-

tiful and elaborate design. Sometimes they were made like shrines, fashioned after the design of small temples and not unlike the Tabernacle in general appearance. At other times they were arranged with poles for carrying in a way similar to the transportation of the Ark by the Levites (pl. VI, fig. 1).

The vestments of the priests are not so easily discovered as the furniture of the temples, for naturally the robes themselves have for the most part disappeared, so that we are dependent upon the art of Babylonia and Egypt for nearly every illustration of the vestments.

The Babylonian priest was richly dressed, but his dress bears little resemblance in design to the robe of the High Priest in the Tabernacle. There is no "breast-plate" nor were pectorals used by the Babylonians. Babylonia was a cotton country. Linen was almost, if not quite, unknown. In Egypt "fine white linen" was used for the garments of the priests and for the robes of the dead. Ofttimes the linen was beautifully decorated in colors, among which "blue" is predominant. A small leather apron has been found and is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It also is beautifully decorated, and of beautiful design. Most notable in Egypt is the use of the pectoral or breast-plate. Among the great collections of ancient Egyptians jewels, especially that from Dashur (*Catalogue of the Cairo Museum*, 1906, pp. 366–392) are breast-plates of most elaborate design, richly jeweled and of workman-

ship unapproached by lapidists of today. The gold work with inlay of gems, entirely beyond modern skill, is ofttimes so delicate that it can only be examined satisfactorily by the use of a magnifying glass (pl. VI, fig. 2).

Shewbread was common in both Egyptian and Babylonian temples. It appears as a part of the offerings presented before the gods everywhere in Egyptian temple art and was presented in great profusion in the Babylonian temples (Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 455, quoting Zimmern, *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*, pp. 94, 95; and Haupt, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual," p. 59, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900).

The overshadowing of wings is at once the most striking, as it is the most beautiful, symbolism of the Tabernacle. As a simple illustration of the sheltering care of divine providence, nothing else in all the world of symbolism approaches this. It is definitely and most strikingly Egyptian. It is true that the Babylonians and Assyrians used this symbol, but their use of it was a clumsy copy of the Egyptian art and introduced at rather a late date. On the other hand it seems indigenous to Egypt from the earliest to the latest times. It appears everywhere. No other symbol in Egypt is so universal as this. It greets one over the great portals at the approach to the temples, is found upon the cartonnage of the mummy and, what is more significant in comparison with its use in the Taber-

nacle, it is set to guard most sacred things, especially the divine name, or a name that has the reputation of divinity, as in the famous tent scene from the career of Rameses the Great at the battle of Kadesh (pl. VII).

Thus, not to go further and point out more minute resemblance to Egyptian things found in the Tabernacle, the veil and the colors, the measurements, and the symbolical names, which some have thought to see, it is clear that, in the most important features of the architecture and art of the Tabernacle, "the pattern showed in the mount" was Egyptian. The "pattern" made use of what was good and pure and holy and appropriate for symbols of divine things in Egyptian art and architecture. Wherever it was exactly appropriate it was exactly appropriated, as in the general plan of the building; wherever modification was needed the pattern was modified, as in the Ark and the breastplate; when inadequate, something entirely different was substituted, as in the case of the candlestick; and always every idolatrous symbolism was omitted.

This use of Egyptian forms in no wise militated against the divineness of the "pattern" showed to Moses. The good and true and pure is God's everywhere. The divineness in the use of them is in the divine sanction, as it was in the divine sanction of the Decalogue and the Judgments, many of which were well known and promulgated long before Moses came to Sinai. It is everywhere the divine method

to use for symbolism things well-known and familiar. It is, indeed, of the essential character of revelation that it should be so: for revelation is a making known of the unknown through the medium of the well-known. Anything less than this fails to reveal fully. Unless revelation be in known symbols, whether words or objects, it does not reach us. As God used the "trees" in the garden, the rainbow for "the bow in the clouds," the "lamb" in the passover, the "water" in baptism and "bread and wine" in the supper, so it was to be expected that, when he would, in his wondrous revelation through providences in the wilderness, give symbols of the way of approach in worship, he would use things familiar to the people whom he would lead nearer to himself.

Nor is it derogatory to the sublimity and the holiness of the system made known at Sinai that it made use of things employed by Egyptians in idolatrous worship. These things in nature were God's own; the appropriation of them by the Egyptians, or any other heathen, did not give them any proprietorship in them nor debar God from the use of his own. "There is not a single symbol or rite of the Old Dispensation or the New that has not been used in idolatrous worship by some people, and scarely anything 'in heaven above or earth beneath' of which likeness has not been made that men should bow down to it and worship it. We might almost venture to say with reverence that there were no materials upon earth and no appropriate

mathematical possibilities in the science and art of architecture from which God could have made up a plan to show Moses which would not be found to have been already appropriated by the heathen or associated with idolatrous worship. But the Tabernacle must be of earthly materials and embody in form what is within the range of the mind of man. The Egyptians took certain of these things from God's treasure-house of nature. That did not make them theirs, nor hinder God from using his own. He took what was his own, left behind the excrescences which idolatry added, gave to the things chosen divine sanction, and these things were "the pattern showed in the Mount" (*Bible Student*, 1902, pp. 29-30).

These archaeological facts, when properly weighed, give preponderating evidence concerning the time and place of the origin of the Tabernacle narrative. The plan of the Tabernacle "showed in the mount" was an Egyptian plan. Every Tabernacle theory that appears must reckon with this fact. Moreover, it is a deciding fact. If the plan "showed in the mount" had been as distinctly and characteristically Babylonian as it is Egyptian, it is easy to imagine how archaeologists would have been allowed by critics the deciding voice in this controversy; the pattern of the Tabernacle would have been pointed to, with the utmost confidence, as deciding beyond question, the influences under which the account of the Tabernacle was written. This would have fixed the time of its composition

to the time of the Exile or later. The Egyptian pattern of the Tabernacle is just as decisive for Egyptian influences in Egyptian times in the history of Israel, as we shall now see.

Modern literary criticism of the Old Testament presents a Tabernacle theory according to which romancers of the 5th century B.C. invented the pattern "showed in the mount" according to their own imagination, and in order, as Wellhausen expressed it, to give historical form to the doctrine of the unity of worship.

Now, it is sometimes imagined that one may imagine anything. Not so; imagination has its horizon beyond which it cannot go. It has very definite limitations in the material which it can, in any given case, use. Like dreams, which are but the vagaries of imagination released from the guidance of reason, imagination, even the most gifted, deals only with life stuff. What is the stuff dreams are made of? The same life-stuff that waking imagination uses, and nothing more. Waking or sleeping, the imagination has no other materials than those of which one's life has had knowledge or experience. These materials may be combined in grotesque and absurd ways, but imagination, either awake or asleep, creates no new materials. The Esquimo boy, for example, cannot imagine, or dream, of lying under cocoa palms and throwing stones at the monkeys for cocoa nuts in return. His life experience and observation furnish no such materials. So these people of Babylonia, who,

according to the Tabernacle theory of modern criticism, themselves put the idea of unity of worship into historical form—how comes it that they had an Egyptian imagination? That some knowledge of Egyptian things was held in Babylonia at that time is, of course, true, but that these priest-scribes, in the days before printing presses and kodaks and modern travel facilities, should have acquired knowledge of such delicate touches of Egyptian art and architecture as to have used them thus without mistake in imagining a Tabernacle and its elaborate ceremonial is scarcely believable; and if they had by any possibility been able to do so, yet the evidence of the surrounding Babylonian influences would inevitably have crept into their work of imagination. For it must be remembered that imagination has never been completely broken to the bridle; it only works freely *when given a loose rein.* And surely, that imagination *was given a loose rein!* Such an unbridled imagination as would be required for so elaborate a work as the Tabernacle and its ceremonial would inevitably have betrayed its surroundings.

But even if it were possible, or believable, that Babylonian authors at that time could have had such an Egyptian imagination, how could their impelling motive, to give credence to their production and gain acceptance for it, sanction so undiplomatic a method at this juncture of affairs? According to the extreme view, the narrative of the Tabernacle in the wilderness belongs to the period

of the return from the Exile, 458–429 B.C. But this was the Persian period, when Babylonian or Persian, and not Egyptian, ideas prevailed. In so far as the Jew was susceptible to foreign influences, Persia, and not her enemy Egypt, was in favor. In 527 B.C. Cambyses conquered Egypt; 486 B.C. Xerxes reigned in Egypt; Artaxerxes, beginning his reign in 464 B.C., was still on the throne in Ezra's time and in his fifth year, two years before Ezra published the Scriptures, including, according to these extreme critics, the forged Priest Code, with its account of the Tabernacle in the wilderness, and the stolen authority of Moses, the Persians had put down a most desperate Egyptian rebellion. Is it believable that just at this juncture the priest-scribes would have dared to brave, or have desired to brave, the charge of sedition by teaching the people a made-up story about Jehovah himself providing for them a religious house, and to some extent symbols, taken from the hated enemies of the empire? Anybody clever enough to have devised such a forgery as this Tabernacle narrative would have had more concern for his head than to have published it just then. If it be said that, desiring to claim the authority of Moses, they felt constrained to give their story a consistent Egyptian character, that would not have made the enterprise any less dangerous, nor any more probable. Besides, it admits that an Egyptian character to the story does point to Mosaic authorship and surely quite as much, if it be genuine, as if it be forged!

According to the more moderate view, if any view may be called moderate which involves forgery, the Tabernacle story was invented about the 7th century, or, to be more exact in the quoting of language, "before Jeremiah." This indefiniteness gives more opportunity for dodging difficulties, and here especially the difficulty that refers so dramatically to Shilo's history (Jer. VII. 12, 14; XXVI. 6, 9). It might be possible to pick out some time within a hundred years preceding Jeremiah when, for a little time, it would have been politically safe to have entered upon such an imposture, as after the time of Hezekiah and the frightening away of the Assyrians in part by the assistance of Tirhakah (cf. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 31–32).

But this bringing in of a supposititious author "before Jeremiah" only confuses the question. According to the theory under consideration the central place of worship was established by Deuteronomy, which was published under Josiah at the beginning of Jeremiah's time (626 B.C.). So that really the relief which it is sought to create by supposing an earlier author is hopeless. Whenever the Tabernacle account may have been *invented*, if it was invented, it must have been *given out* not earlier than the time of Josiah. Now it must be kept in mind that only a few years afterwards, at most about ten years, Josiah went out of his way to pick a quarrel with Pharaoh Necho 2 Chron. XXXV. 20–24), and persisted even after the Egyptian king had put in a most earnest disclaimer

of hostility and a pleading remonstrance for peace. If the priests at the finding of the Law with such pronounced Egyptian predilections, gave a new cult life, the death of Josiah at the hands of the Egyptians ten years later would have been its death. New religions are not so easily and quickly established among people as to survive such an early and dreadful shock (cf. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, p. 32).

If it be said that the imagination of these pious romancing authors found material in the Temple of Solomon, that the Tabernacle was made like the Temple and not the Temple like the Tabernacle, and that thus it came to have an Egyptian appearance, the difficulty is not removed, but only shifted to a different location. How does it come that the builders of the Temple followed Egyptian ideas rather than Phoenician? Why did they not consult fully their Phoenician architects? Or rather why, if they wished Egyptian ideas, did they not get an Egyptian architect? Surely, if they inclined so much to Egyptian ideas, it would not have been politically offensive. In fact, Solomon did have some diplomatic dealings with Egypt, though they indicate suspicion rather than confidence. Oriental diplomatic marriages have usually, if not always, this significance. The poor victim is a hostage from her father and a spy upon her husband. How can it be that Solomon and his Phoenician architects, three hundred and ninety-one years, according to the view under consideration, before there was any

theory of the Mosaic Tabernacle to be maintained, and according to the same view two to three hundred years before Genesis and Exodus were written, and there was any "legendary story" of Israel's early history fixed in the national mind, in seeking a cult for the people and a form of art and architecture rightly to embody it, went back to their feared and hated masters in Egypt, instead of drawing fully from these friendly Phoenician neighbors and kinsmen, to the seduction of whose idolatry they had already fallen a prey? In fact, they did go to their Phoenician kinsmen and added to the Egyptian plan of the Tabernacle the Phoenician elaboration and adornment of the Temple.

Thus the Tabernacle Theory of Modern Criticism fails at every point to conform to the archaeological evidence of the monuments of Babylonia and Egypt, and does not even agree with the archaeology of the Bible itself as it stands nor with the "documents" produced by the critical analysis. On the other hand, the Tabernacle view of the Pentateuch itself, which in its present form, represents the unbroken tradition of the Jews, a tradition manifestly adopted by the Christ and by the writers of the New Testament and inherited by the Christian Church, is in exact accord with the facts of archaeology both of the Bible and of the monuments. And so its representation that the pattern was "showed in the mount," the Tabernacle erected and the account of it written, at the time of the Exodus, under Egyptian influences of art and archi-

tecture, is historically consistent and trustworthy. We have not to think our Lord mistaken and fatally limited by his kenosis when he referred to the wilderness history as a record of facts, nor to conclude that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews wasted his time in an elaborate interpretation of a ceremonial structure and symbolism which were in reality a work of imagination by a designing priesthood under the stolen name of the national hero and by false decretals of the authority of God. Instead we may continue to think the "pattern showed in the mount" a pattern of "heavenly things."

LECTURE V.

Light on Questions of Eschatology in the Pentateuch.

What was the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the life after death, which the Israelites brought out of Egypt, and what became of it? This is a squinting question; it is capable of looking in two very different directions. It may be ironical, meant to express scepticism concerning the historicity of the whole Exodus narrative and all connected with it, thus voicing the critical views involved in the theory of a late date for the Pentateuchal records. In that case the question means that Israel did not make any such sojourn in Egypt as the Genesis and Exodus stories narrate, and, hence, could not have had such an exodus, and such wilderness experience, as is related in Exodus and the later books of the Pentateuch; and that, of course, no such Pentateuchal records nearly resembling what we now have were written by Moses or by anyone else in a period of wilderness wanderings; and that the narrative as it now appears is but an effort to give "historical form" to the religious ideas which priests of the 5th century B.C. wished to promulgate in the name of a great law-giver, who, strange to say, is borrowed from the repudiated narrative.

But this question about the doctrine of the resurrection may be asked in good faith; it is in good faith that it is asked now. What was the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the life to come, which Israel did bring out of Egypt, and what did become of it? There is, in fact, no distinct, explicit teaching in the field of eschatology in the Pentateuch. The narrative, indeed, does move all the time consciously in the presence of the other world. No other fact is more patent in the Pentateuch than the fact of God. The sign of his presence is visible by day and by night from the crossing at the Red Sea to the Plains of Moab, to light the people on the march and to mark their stopping places. His glory ever rested within the sanctuary; his bounteous hand scattered bread from heaven and brought water from the rock; his voice was heard amidst the terrifying manifestations from the summit of Sinai; his presence was ever kept in mind by the never-failing flow of sacrificial blood poured out at his altars. Everything was arranged in the whole sacrificial system of the wilderness to inculcate spiritual ideas of God, and of his worship, and of the other world.

There are also hints and suggestions here and there which turn our thoughts to the life to come, and possibly to the resurrection. Such are all allusions to responsibility for sin, and all mention of propitiation for sin, even the very nearness of the other world in the Pentateuchal narrative, and, especially, every reference to God as Lawgiver and Judge. Be-

sides, there are, more explicitly, the translation of Enoch (Gen. V. 22–24) and the revelation at the bush (Ex. III. 1–6). It is easy to know what is in a rose-bud after we have seen a full-blown rose. It is easy for our thoughts, filled with the beauty and fragrance of the New Testament revelation to run out to the conception of the other world, and of the life after death, at the slightest hint; but such hints do not of themselves give any real teaching of the doctrine. It is true, also, that our Lord turned to the Pentateuch for proof of the life after death (Math. XXII. 31–32, Mark XII. 26–27, Luke XX. 37–38) and showed it there to the Sadducees and to all that generation; but it is doubtful if we now, any more than the Sadducees then, would have discovered this teaching, except for His guiding mind. It is certainly true that, deprive us of everything but the Pentateuch, and it would be a very difficult matter for us to teach from it the doctrines of the resurrection and of the life after death.

But, if Moses or anyone else wrote the Pentateuchal Books immediately after Israel had really come out of Egypt, as represented in these books, how comes it that there is no doctrine of the resurrection and of the life after death taught in them? The modern world, since the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the uncovering of Egypt's buried monuments, is filled with the idea that the doctrine of the resurrection and of the future life was well known, and was the most prominent, indeed, of all religious ideas among the Egyptians,

in all ages from almost the earliest times to the latest epoch of ancient history. And, in fact, there is no other subject which the ancient religious idea and religious practices of the Egyptians kept so constantly before the mind of the people as the hope which eschatology sets before the mind. The funeral customs kept such ideas ever before the mind of the "common people; the sculptured and painted monuments presented this idea before the eye more than almost any other one thing; and a kind of heathen "miracle play" in the worship of Osiris (Budge, *History of Egypt*, VI., p. 211) included scenes involving life in the other world. Did anyone from Egypt write religious books for Israel, just come out of Egypt, and say nothing on the subject of the life after death?

Here, then, is a real difficulty in the way of accepting the times of the Exodus as Pentateuchal times. Many of the difficulties which the radical criticism has presented only exist on the supposition that the Documentary Theory is correct. That theory constantly gets us into more difficulties than it gets us out of. But here is a real difficulty, the most serious, indeed, in the way of acceptance of the authorship of the Pentateuch in Mosaic times.

It should not be overlooked, however, that no one bears exclusively the incubus of this difficulty; eschatology is just as little mentioned in the Pentateuch, *no matter when it was written.* Whoever presents a Pentateuchal theory, to whatever date

he assigns it, must meet this difficulty. Moreover, the difficulty does not become any easier as the centuries go on, but rather presses the harder. If it is very difficult when Israel has just come out of Egypt, to show why a subject so much in the minds of the people should have been omitted from mention in divine revelation, how much greater the difficulty in the later days, when the Psalmists and Daniel and Ezekiel and later holy writers among the Jews were writing on this subject, and how much greater still, as the 5th century goes on toward the 4th, when was already stirring that wondrous interest which produced such a voluminous apocalyptic literature (cf. Charles, *Apocalyptic Literature*). Those who hold that late view of the origin of the Pentateuch, or, at least, of its completion, must meet this difficulty themselves; I have no relief to suggest.

But we, also, must meet this difficulty in the way of Pentateuchal times being Mosaic times. Theology has an answer which will be considered more fully later in this lecture; it is an answer in the field of logic, that God puts first things first, and that eschatology, which concerns the last things, has, therefore, no place in the beginnings of revelation. This answer is unimpeachable in its own field. Logic is a good defense, but such defense is, in this case, impracticable. Logic is sometimes a poor weapon; it is so here. It does not vanquish the opposition. It is still possible to point to the fact that the idea of the future life was

immediately before the eyes of the Israelites and anyone among them writing at that time, so that this answer will not sufficiently account for its omission from the Pentateuch under such peculiar circumstances. Even if revelation was not yet in order on this subject, corrective teaching would certainly on the face of things seem to have been.

There is an explicit and sufficient answer to all such questions of eschatology in the Pentateuch which comes, not from theology, but from archaeology; that answer we are to hear and consider now.

I. What doctrine of the resurrection, and of the future life, did Israel bring out of Egypt? Certainly the Egyptian doctrine; whatever else on that subject they may have had, or may not have had, they certainly had this. For four centuries they had lived among a people who kept before the mind the rising from the dead and living again more than anything else in the whole range of religious ideas. It is impossible that the children of Israel in Egypt, though somewhat isolated locally in their habitations, should have lived in the land, and have served as slaves wherever the government wished their services, and yet have remained in total ignorance of this doctrine of the resurrection and future life held by the Egyptians. Even if it were possible of the people generally, it is not conceivable that the leaders of the people, and especially Moses, reared in the Egyptian court and, both according to Scripture and the logic of environment, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," could have been

ignorant of the Egyptian belief concerning life after death.

So then Israel brought out of Egypt with them the Egyptian doctrine of the resurrection and of the future life. What was this doctrine?

1. The Egyptians believed in another world, which they peopled with "gods many and lords many." The native Egyptian gods were, indeed, a multitude. Though it is not quite correct to say, as is sometimes said, that the Egyptians worshipped everything round about them, from the sun, moon and stars above to the lizards that darted among the stones and the lice that crawled over their bodies, yet their religion did begin in animism (Müller, *Mythology of All Races*, XI., pp. 7–18) that had an attitude toward nature which made possible such an universal adoration of external objects; and the pantheon of things actually exalted to the position of gods, in the minds of the Egyptians, is very large indeed. Professor Müller, in his remarkable compendium of Egyptian mythology, in the *Mythology of All Races*, enumerates by name and description 189 of the gods and goddesses and yet disclaims completeness for his list (*Mythology of All Races*, III., pp. 15–158).

The great corridor wall of the temple of Horus at Edfu, with its tier upon tier of divinities, is a kind of museum, an art gallery, and an *index rerum* of the Egyptian pantheon, which, more than anything else, impresses upon one the multitude of the Egyptian gods and goddesses (pl. VIII).

Osiris was the most popular of the gods in the mind of the common people, and he was more universally in the minds of all classes of people during the longest period of Egyptian history than any other god, though he was neither the oldest nor the most august and powerful of the gods. His life, his death, his rising again from the dead and exaltation to a place among the gods, and the hope of all the faithful to go and be united with him in the other world all appealed most strongly to the sympathies and aspirations of the human heart. The Osirian myth became the most popular of all the heathen miracle plays of ancient Egypt. The story of the myth bears so remarkable a likeness to the career of the "Messiah" that some have thought it to be a mythological embodiment and curious adorning of the Messianic hope in the world. It is not impossible that it is a mythological corruption of an antidiluvian Messianic revelation, which seems to have, also, some reflections in the myths of the early Sumerians (Langdon, cf. *Sunday School Times*, October 31 1914; January 30, 1915; July 24, 1915, et al.).

Isis, the wife of Osiris, was hardly less dear to the popular heart of the ancient Egyptians than Osiris himself, and, indeed, was, by the troubled mass of human kind in that land, given such devotion as the human heart, always still the heart of a child, so easily gives to a goddess, especially one conceived to be the "mother of God," as Isis was said to be the mother of Horus, and was often shown

with that young god on her knee. This trio, Osiris, Isis and Horus, formed the popular triad, a kind of materialistic trinity, in the mind of the populace of Egypt.

Ra was one of the great gods of power and authority. The principal seat of his worship was Memphis, though it extended throughout the land. His visible appearance was the sun in his splendor of midday; for does not the sun dominate life in Egypt almost more than anywhere else in the world? His light is their light of day as elsewhere in the world; his fructifying power it is that clothes the land in verdure unsurpassed; his warmth is the winter warmth of Egypt more than of most other places in the world; and his terrible heat of summer it is that desiccates everything in an incredibly short time, so quickly, indeed, as ofttimes to prevent corruption. Thus the sun is the chief hygienic agency and the one thing that saves the land from being continually plague-swept. If the Egyptians were ever to be idolaters, it were a certainty that the sun would be, if not the first, at least the most powerful of the gods. Many of the gods seemed remote; Ra was at hand.

Ptah was the creator, "the first of the gods," whose principal seat of worship was at Memphis (Baedeker, 1898, CXXX; Müller, *Mythology of All Races*, XII., pp. 144–145), though he, too, was worshipped throughout the land during long ages. Thoth was the scribe god, the god of wisdom, in a sense the mind of the gods (Müller, *Mythology of*

All Races, XII., p. 33). He represents, perhaps, the highest conception of the in divine Egypt, the nearest approach to the spiritual idea of divinity. The simplicity of the Egyptian mind is, however, nowhere more interestingly exhibited than in the fact that the animal representation of Thoth was the ape, because he was cunning, looked solemnly wise, and held his tongue! The world has not yet advanced much above this simple conception of the embodiment of human wisdom!

Amon, often Amon Ra, originally a local deity, was exalted to a supreme position and identified with Ra as the sun-god. The animal symbol of this god was the ram. The seat of his worship was at the great religious center at Karnak, where, to this day, a portion of the long line of ram-headed sphynxes that lined the approach to his temple may still be seen.

Foreign gods and goddesses were also introduced into Egypt. Notwithstanding the exclusiveness of the Egyptians, which surpassed the exclusiveness of the former Celestial Empire in the modern world, these foreign deities sometimes gained a permanent place among the Egyptians. Reshpu, a Syrian god of Semitic origin, with associated goddess, Qedesh, were introduced by the Hyksos, or, at least their worship was fostered by them, and they continued among the gods of Egypt, notwithstanding the hatred of the Egyptians toward the Hyksos usurpation and the persistent efforts of the later Egyptians to eradicate from the land every other trace of the

Hyksos reign. This goddess was associated with the lioness upon whose back she stood.

Aten was another foreign deity, also of Semitic origin. His introduction into Egyptian religion caused the most violent dislocation of religious ideas ever experienced by the ancient Egyptians and his career had an end as sudden and catastrophic as his introduction was rapid and spectacular. The seat of his worship was established at Tel el-Amarna, which Amenophis IV. made the religious center of the empire as well as its political capital. The symbol of this god was the sun's disk. His worship was the nearest approach to monotheism that the practical worship of the Egyptian gives us. What esoteric ideas on the subject they may have had are not known. This worship of Aten was, however, probably no more than henotheism, the worship of one god at a time. At the death of Amenophis IV. the priests of the old religion, whose interest was in the worship of Amon Ra at Karnak, rushed again to power, hurled the innovating religion from its too sudden pedestal, endeavored to erase every trace of the symbol of the hated foreign god, and snatched the mummy of Amenophis from its tomb, tore it into shreds and scattered them to the four winds, that no resurrection should await the heretic!

Even the Greeks and Romans brought their own gods with them to Egypt, though it was like carrying coals to Newcastle. They, also, combined in part their own pantheon with that of Egypt, as in

the worship of Serapis and in the worship at some of the most charming and beautiful of all the temples, those at Assuan (Müller, *Mythology of All Races*, XII., p. 158).

Even so brief a meditation as this upon the gods and goddesses of Egypt both illustrates the multiplicity of divinities in that land and deepens the conviction that the Egyptians believed in another world peopled with a multitude, indeed, almost an innumerable multitude, of divine beings.

2. The Egyptians believed in life after death. The temples were decorated with scenes of the other world of the gods, in which those who have departed this life are shown living in the presence of the gods there. They are represented as talking with them and arranging to enter fully into the activities of the world of the gods.

The tombs likewise were similarly decorated with scenes representing the deceased as appearing among the gods and conferring with them. In addition, the tombs give remarkable and multifarious representations of the life of the deceased in the other world. He is shown in many of the activities of a life that corresponds to an idealized stage of the life he lived while upon earth. He is seen engaged in all of the same activities, but under more perfect conditions, just as the popular mind everywhere conceives of heaven as a better earth. Even revelation, which must needs, if it reach us at all, put heavenly things in earthly language, describes the other world as a Paradise, or a Golden City.

These facts lead us at once to an understanding of the presence of such numbers of scarabs in the tombs of the Egyptians. The Scarabaeus, a beetle, the ordinary "tumble bug" of American roadways in the country was conceived by the Egyptian entomologists as uni-sexual, and so having the power of self-reproduction. This is the materialistic embodiment of the idea of immortality. Thus the scarab became the naturalistic symbol of immortality, and the little images of the scarabaeus, put into the tombs, became so many thousands of voices to proclaim the Egyptian belief in the life after death.

Another testimony to the belief in life after death among the Egyptians which is almost sufficient in itself is found in the soul-houses from the XI. dynasty tombs near Asyut. These little clay models of the common peasant house, the model, indeed, of the universal architectural idea of the house among the Egyptians, were placed in the tomb for the use of the soul of the dead man. While this particular development of the idea of life after death has not the witness of these soul-houses in any other period of Egyptian history than this XI. dynasty, the belief in life after death manifest here is the same as that manifest in so many other ways through thousands of years of Egyptian history (pl. III, fig. 2).

But the most interesting and satisfactory evidence of the Egyptian belief in life after death is given in the celebrated judgment scene in the Vignettes of the Book of the Dead, also in the

Temple of Hathor at Deir al-Medineh (pl. IX, fig. 1). This wonderful representation embodies not only the belief in life after death, but much of the Egyptian theology concerning the other world. Osiris is seen seated on his throne with the judgment seat before him. An altar of offerings, if, indeed, it is not a table spread with supplies, is represented immediately before him. Sometimes the watch-dog, Cerberus, borrowed from Greek mythology, is present for immediate service, if needed. The scales of justice hold the center of the scene. In one scale is the truth symbolized by the feather, against which is weighed the soul of the dead man, symbolized by a human heart, in the other scale. Thoth, in his form of the ape, sits above the scales to observe how the balance goes, while as scribe-god he is ready with palette and pen to record the result. Anubis and Horus are sometimes also seen watching the balance. Sometimes a servant, probably a servant of the dead man, is seen exultantly proclaiming that the balance is equal, and a celestial attendant is about to lead away the dead man to appear before the forty-two assessors beyond, though represented above, because the Egyptians did not understand perspective. These are to canvass the record of the result and to give the decree of "justified" which will permit the dead to enter into the realms of blessed abode. With all these evidences in mind, surely nothing more is needed to show that the Egyptians believed in life after death.

3. The Egyptians believed in immediate transition from this world to the other world, and from this life to the life after death. To show this by the multitude of quotations necessary to prove the prevalence of this conception of the entrance into the future life and the absence of anything bearing any resemblance to a purgatory, or temporary abode of souls, or a belief in soul-sleeping, would be a satisfactory method, but would require too much time. A single illustration will bring before us this conception of the Egyptians concerning the entrance into future life more vividly than pages of extracts from Egyptian theology and mythology. Moreover, while it will not give testimony concerning every age of Egyptian religion, it will give evidence fromthat period during which Israel sojourned in the land and so be complete enough for the investigation in hand. In the Museum at Cairo is a very unique picture of Thothmes III. The cut is a conventional drawing, not a photograph. The character and condition of this sculpture hardly admits of a satisfactory photograph. The picture is of Thothmes and his *ka*, the Egyptian psychological conception sometimes called a man's "double," sometimes his "soul" (Müller, *Mythology of All Races*, p. 174). It is, perhaps, the Egyptian name for the inner voice which so often seems to talk with us. This *ka* is the common representation of a man after death. This picture of Thothmes has both Thothmes in life and Thothmes' *ka* of the life to come and represents them *as clasping hands*. No

more beautiful and graphic representation of the immediate transition from this life to the next could be imagined than the representation of a man shaking hands with himself through the veil that separates us from the beyond (pl. IX, fig. 2).

4. The Egyptians believed also in the revival of the dead man. The Egyptian doctrine of the future life was no mere doctrine of "shades," like that of the early Greeks, but a doctrine of revived personality. They believed that the dead would live again. The evidence of this is also evidence concerning the kind of restoration that was to take place.

The awakening of belief among the Egyptians in the revival of the dead involved also, as we shall presently see, interest in the preservation of the body which the dead man left behind, and this gave rise to all the elaborate development of the processes of mummifying, which were at last carried to such perfection in that land. Satisfactory mummification was to the Egyptians, however, an expensive process. However important it seemed in their theology, it became, in practical life, a luxury of the well-to-do and the noble. There was a method of salting in natron, a mixture of carbonate, sulphate and muriate of soda, which was comparatively inexpensive; another, by the use of honey, was only practicable for infants. Still another process consisted chiefly in filling the body with pitch or bitumen and the temporary injection of palm oil, which preserved it well, but turned it

completely black and very brittle. The best process of mummifying was by the use of balsams and gums, and was very expensive. It has been estimated to have cost about $1200.00, which, considering the difference in the purchasing power of money then and now, must have represented quite a fortune in Egypt. It is thus apparent that this hope of the reviving of the dead through the mummifying of the body, was beyond the reach of the great mass of the Egyptian people. It is agreed by archaeologists that never more than a small portion of the Egyptians were mummified in any era. What was the hope of the poor multitudes for the life to come is not known. Some have thought, and there is some possibility that it may be true, that there was preached the doctrine of salvation by proxy, indicated by the vast number of little images put into the tombs of the great as servants for them in the other world. Did the clansmen of a noble thus gain the hope of immortality by being represented in his tomb? It may be so. It is to this elaborate effort to preserve the body which grew out of the feeling of necessity for preserving the bodily form in order to a satisfactory immortality, that we owe the privilege of looking upon the faces of the Pharaohs of the most glorious days of Egyptian history, and even the faces of the Pharaohs of the Oppression and of the Exodus, (pls. X and IX).

The preservation of the body from decay was only the beginning of the precautions taken by the Egyptians that the body might be preserved intact,

in order to assure a noble and a satisfying revival of the dead. Psychologically, it was certain that their efforts woud not end at that point, when other means of preservation were so easily attained. It was most natural that the next suggestion to the same end would be the preparation of strong tombs that neither the ravages of time and climate nor the depredations of wild beasts and thieves might endanger the hope of rising again. To this idea of preservation we are indebted for the marvelously constructed secret devices in their rock-cut tombs to baffle the utmost ingenuity of grave-robbers, or if they persisted, to entrap them miserably, as burglar alarms sometimes do in modern homes of wealth. While the thieves wished the jewels and gold buried with the dead, it was not so much to protect these as to protect the body from mutilation or destruction that the tombs were hidden and secret devices made to baffle intruders.

Another development of the idea of preserving the body against all contingencies is of still greater interest to us. It is to this same feeling, that the material body must be preserved at all hazards, that we owe the pyramids of Egypt. The earliest pyramid constructions are those of the pyramids of Sakkarah and Medum. They were built some of stone and some of brick in the III. dynasty. The pattern of the step pyramid was probably borrowed from Babylonia. Once the wealthy started such efforts, it was a certainty that kings would carry them to that extreme which we have in the great

pyramids of Egypt. Cheops, erected by King Khufu of the IV. dynasty, covers nearly thirteen acres of ground and rose 451 feet above the base. It was constructed of great blocks of limestone brought across the river from the quarries in the Mokhattam hills. They were floated in canals as far as the level of the water would permit, then dragged up a long incline which may yet be seen. These blocks were lifted into place by the simple fulcrum and lever as shown on the monuments. According to Herodotus, 100,000 men, doubtless slaves, or at least victims of the corvee as were the Israelites thirteen centuries later, labored on this stupendous structure erected to the vanity of a vainglorious monarch. The impelling motive, fed by vanity, was the desire of the king that the wealth of the empire might be put under tribute to make safe beyond a peradventure the preservation of his precious body, and thus a glorious revival from the realm of Amenti, the abode of the dead. Before the power of this idea was fully realized in Egyptian studies, and before the simplicity of the working of the Egyptian mind was fully grasped, most elaborate, and even fantastic, theories to account for the construction of the pyramid were given to the world. The fact that it was made a pyramid and so possessed the mathematical qualities of the Conic Sections and was oriented to the heliacal rising of the Dog-Star, probably because it was erected at that rare occurrence, all of which thus set it in time with the movements of the universe,

gave color to these esoteric theories. But the erection of this great pyramid in a cemetery twenty miles long, surrounded by a multitude of similar, though smaller structures, and more than anything else, the now understood passionate longing to keep the body from destruction to the end of rising again from the dead, show that the great pyramid is simply the greatest monument in a graveyard. The motive for its construction is the simple, yet strongest of all the aspirations of life, the longing after immortality.

The next development of the idea to have in readiness a body for the revival of the dead man, gave rise to portrait sculpture. After all the precautions taken for the preservation of the natural body, it might decay, or it might in some way be destroyed. To provide against such contingency, an artificial body of wood, stone or bronze was provided. And, lest this might also be destroyed, another and another was added until as many as ten have been found in a single tomb. But, if a man must live again in an artificial body, the more exactly it resembled him in life, the better it would fit and thus the more comfortable he would be living in it. So every peculiarity of physiology and of physiognomy was faithfully copied until portraiture by the sculptor and the bronze worker reached in Egypt its highest development. The wooden statue known as Sheik el-Beled from the IV. dynasty (*Guide to Cairo Museum*, 1906, p. 39) is the finest piece of wood-carving in the world.

The limestone statues of Ra Hotep and his wife of the III. dynasty, so suggestive of affectionate domestic life among the Egyptians, and the bronze statue of Pepi of the VI. dynasty show how marvelously art was stimulated by this desire for life to come. To the same desire we owe, also, the privilege of looking upon the lovely, but passionate, face of Nefert-ari, the beloved wife of Rameses II., and to the same source we are indebted for the royal portraits, from the rugged countenance of King Khayan of the Hyksos kings to the strong young face of Rameses the Oppressor (pl. X), and the weak and fretful countenance of Meremptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus (pl. XI).

All these efforts to keep in readiness a material body for the dead man when he revived not only puts beyond any question the belief of the Egyptians in a revival of the dead, but reveals at once their passionate longing for that event and also the materialistic conception they had of the life to which they looked forward. This leads immediately to the full consideration of this last characteristic of the belief of the Egyptians concerning the life to come.

5. The Egyptians had grossly materialistic ideas of the rising from the dead and of the life after death. The belief that the revived man would need a material body led immediately, it could not do otherwise, to the idea that the material body would have material needs. It is not easy, however, to see how they reached the opinion that the dead

man, while yet dead, should be capable of wandering through the realms of the other world in a disembodied condition and should at the same time need material supplies. But such was the case. Such inconsistencies do not seem to have been given the least annoyance to the Egyptian mind. The belief that the dead man had material needs led to the most manifest and ever-present phenomenon connected with the cult of the dead; offerings for the dead.

This manifestation began with the funeral procession itself (pl. XII, fig. 1). There was an elaborate crossing of the river to the west, figurative of entering the realm of Amenti. The coffin was carried in a richly decorated boat, a shrine for worship was provided, immense quantities of provisions were carried, and all was covered with flowers. All this profusion of supplies was not for a funeral feast, or were the floral tributes merely to show esteem for the dead. These things were to make provision for the dead man.

Hired mourners mourned and lamented and waved their arms and their garments until exhausted. Then they stopped and had a dance to relieve their feelings and again took up their funeral functions (Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 153–173). Arrived at the tomb, the shrine was put in place, the provisions heaped up in most abundant profusion, and the flowers strewn over all. A Congressman at Washington said to his Chinese servant who went to the cemetery to leave food at the grave of a friend:

"When do you think your friend will come up to eat that food?" The Chinaman replied: "I spec allee same timee Melican man's friend come up to smellee flowers." That is to say, food at the grave may mean no more than flowers at the graves of our loved ones. It was not so among the ancient Egyptians. They expected the dead man to come forth and partake of the food and smell the flowers. Provisions for the use of the dead man were actually put in the tomb, and sometimes, at least, left there permanently. Such have been found in tombs desiccated, arranged on shelves like specimens in a museum (cf. for recent instance, Reisner, *American Journal of Archaeology*, January–March, p. 79) (pl. XII, fig. 2).

The work of providing for the dead did not cease with the funeral; it only began then and was kept up by the friends of the dead. Attempts, devious and inventive, were made to continue the supplies perpetually, as we shall see. The slaughtering of cattle and the carving up of legs and shoulders of beef, are seen in the decorations of the tombs. Processions are seen making their way to the tomb, bearing a shrine, loaves of bread, jars of wine and beer, with trussed geese and other fowls. A calf, even, is led along to be slaughtered at the tomb so that the dead man may have fresh veal "tender and good," the delight of the oriental palate (pl. XIII, fig. 1).

We have now followed this provisioning of the dead to a point at which it would seem it must break

down of its own burdensomeness. Doubtless it did do so; for the next step in the development of ideas concerning the dead was such an invention as necessity must have mothered. Their belief concerning the other world was not that it was just the man of this world who lived over there, but his *ka*, the soul, the man's double, his other self. This was a kind of ghostly representation of the man who lived in this world and which was to be united to his real human personality again. This doctrine of the *ka* provided a way of relief in provisioning the dead. Very early the idea was advanced and put into practice that the *ka* of the man needed for its sustenance, while he was still dead, only the *ka* of the food, and that a picture of the food would provide this as well as the food itself. This led to the most elaborate decoration of the entrance hall and the second chamber of the tomb, for, naturally, the more pictures, the more food for the dead man (pl. XIII, fig. 2). The description of the procession of food supplies pictured in the tomb of Ra-ka-pu (University Museum, Philadelphia) will give the best conception of the demand for supplies for the dead and the extent to which these demands were met. Cattle are being slaughtered and prepared for the dead man's table. Servants are shown bringing legs of beef, with platters of bread and jars of beer and wine. Others add to the profusion of supplies trussed geese and great bunches of bananas. As the procession draws nearer it becomes crowded and the provisions more and more profuse until there is

only to be seen an almost indescribable heap of meat, bread, beer, wine and vegetables, and all covered over with flowers. At last, when the table of the dead man was reached, the artist despaired of picturing this profusion in detail and contented himself with indicating an immense heap by mere conventional lines, and inscribed below that all these things were to be supplied by thousands. Before this heap, the dead man is seen sitting and satisfying himself with good things.

This wish for the multiplication of the offerings led to still another refinement of the doctrine of supplies for the *ka* of the dead man. It was thought that a prayer that the dead man should have all the things they wished him to have would be quite effective in supplying the *ka* with everything the dead man needed. So we have upon the walls of the tombs many variations and enlargements of the prayer that "they give sepulchral meals, oxen, geese, bread, cloth, incense (literally, holy smoke) wax, thousands of all things good and pure, thousands of all things sweet and pleasant, gifts of heaven, products of earth, tributes of the Nile and of his storehouses."

The doctrine of material supplies for the dead could not stop at even this point at which it had arrived. To what end all this provision to give strength for activity, if there be not activity nor the implements of activity? Would he not need his jewels with which to adorn himself, and his weapons with which to arm himself as he was wont

to do, his chariot in which to ride out, and the harness with which his horses were caparisoned? When he came in from labor or from war, would he not need his easy chair in which to sit and rest, his couch on which to lie down and sleep? In merry times, he must be amused and charmed with the music of his harp and lute. Because of all these needs, we have not pictures only, and prayers, but, also, the very articles themselves in bronze and wood and precious metals and stones (pl. XIV, fig. 1).

But if all these things are supplied, he must surely have his servants also. So a score, a hundred, of these little images of men and women were put into a single tomb, servants for him in the other world, and it may be, also, as has been mentioned, to the end that they might perchance attain unto immortality. In the pictures these servants with their implements are seen as busy serving their master in the life to come as they were serving him in his life in this world, and, also, in the same way (pl. XIV, fig. 2). They plow his fields, tread his wine press, knead his bread and bake it in the oven; in short, do all the thousand and one things they were accustomed to do, while they served him here. Some of them were even armed with battle-axe and spear, or with bow and arrow, that they might fight his battles as of old. Even his chariot, gilded and jeweled, was placed in the tomb that he might drive out into the fields of Amenti with his charioteer to met his enemies exactly as he met them in this world.

The sum of all the Egyptian ideas about provision for the dead in the other world is that the dead man needed everything that he needed while living. Moreover, he was actually to make use of all these things in the other world. He was believed to come out through the closed door of the inner third chamber of the tomb to partake of everything provided for him; and when he should rise again from the dead, he would need the same body in which he lived in this world or an exact duplicate of it, if that were destroyed. He would awake to the same old life which he formerly lived and subsist again upon "beef, geese, beer, wine and all good things."

This was the so-called Egyptian doctrine of the resurrection. It was not a doctrine of resurrection at all, but a doctrine of resuscitation. It had strange, half-ghostly features connected with it; inconsistently so; but inconsistency was, of all things that troubled the Egyptian mind, the very least. His idea of a resurrection never rose above resuscitation as far along in Egyptian history as the age we are considering, when Israel lived in Egypt and went out at the Exodus.

The Egyptians did not advance beyond this development of their doctrine of the life to come until after the Israelites went out of bondage. In the earliest times, the Memphite period, their spiritual conceptions of the future life were of the most meager character. They thought the dead man almost wholly confined to the limits of his narrow

tomb. He entered the middle chamber to partake of the food placed there and then returned to dwell in the inner chamber, or to make only the most limited excursions into the realms of the other world (cf. Maspero, *Guide to Cairo Museum*, pp. 11–20, 70–79, 106–111).

In the first Theban dynasty there was an advance in the ideas of freedom of movement of the dead man in the other world, but he must still come back for sustenance to the supplies provided for him in the tomb. Thus, with the most egregious inconsistency, he was believed still to have need of the material things of this world for his life and comfort in the next world. It was at this point in the history of Egypt that Israel departed. The second Theban period saw an advance toward spiritual ideas of the other world and of the future life, but Israel being gone, these advanced ideas of the Egyptian formed no part of the doctrine of the resurrection which Israel brought out of Egypt.

II. What, now, became of this doctrine of the resurrection which Israel brought out of Egypt? Rather we ought to ask, What could be done with such a doctrine of the future life as this?

The period upon which Israel now enters in her history is presented to us as the revelatory period, the period when, in object lessons, God revealed to the world all that afterwards he revealed to us in the person of his Son. It is here that theology serves us in this archaeological discussion. With God first things do come first. The first thing in

training Israel and making the revelation from God to us was to give to Israel spiritual ideas of life and of the other world, and of God and his worship. These ideas must be inculcated by precept and symbol and learned by long practice. Any mention of the resurrection and of the future life at this juncture in the training of Israel and the revelation of God would have carried right over into their religious conceptions all the gross materialism of the Egyptian idea of the resurrection and the life to come. Any mention of this subject at this time would thus have been fatal. Our Lord on one occasion said to the disciples: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot hear them now" (John, XVI. 12). This doctrine of the resurrection and of the life to come was one of the things not to be said to the Israelites, when their course in revelation was but begun, for *they could not bear them yet.* Doctor Richards of the Bantu Mission in Africa once said to me laughingly, "We do not teach the Fourth Commandment in Africa as you teach it in America. You lay great emphasis on the words 'Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy,' and pass very lightly over the other words, 'six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work.' We put the emphasis on 'six days shalt thou labor' and speak very softly about the day of rest; they are 'not able to bear' to hear about it yet; *they are inclined to rest all the time.*" There is a time for every portion of revelation; there is a "present truth" that needs emphasis at any given time in the his-

tory of the world; there are other truths which, at the same time, must be passed over in silence. With Israel's Egyptian history immediately behind, Pentateuchal times presented a time to pass over the doctrine of the resurrection and the life to come in silence, until, through the teaching of spiritual ideas of divine things they should "be able to bear them." So far from Israel s sojourn in Egypt being a reason for the doctrine of the resurrection in the Pentateuch, it is the best possible reason, it seems to me the real reason, that it is not there. It was not the "present truth;" the times were "not able to bear" it.

Thus passes away the strongest objection to the authorship of the Pentateuch in Mosaic times. More than this, the wilderness period thus presents to us a juncture in affairs, the coming together of most potent Egyptian influences upon the life and religious conceptions of the people of Israel and the beginning of the revelation of God to them, which affords the only favorable opportunity in the whole history of Israel for the production of a Pentateuch without explicit teaching concerning the resurrection and the future life. Its absence is explicable at this time. It grows less and less so with every advancing decade of Israel's history, until in the days of the Exile, when so much was being thought and said on these subjects, such an omission is utterly inexplicable. Thus the vague eschatology of the Pentateuch points to the time of the wilderness sojourn as the only fit time for its production. It is

exactly what we should expect it to be in that period. Israel brought the Egyptian doctrine of the resurrection and of the life to come out of Egypt; revelation utterly ignored these subjects until they should be taught higher and better spiritual conceptions than they already possessed.

LECTURE VI

Light from Archaeology on the Mosaic System of Sacrifices

Either the Mosaic sacrifices embodied objective revelation or they did not; either they were received from God or were received from other people or developed out of elements already possessed.

Thus far in this course of lectures we have considered only the literary expression of the message contained in the Pentateuch and have sought to know from archaeological sources the times of that expression and all the influences brought to bear upon it. In this last lecture, we are to consider the spiritual content of the most important part of the Pentateuchal legislation, the Mosaic system of sacrifices, specially reserved from a previous lecture (p. 166) for consideration in this. We are thus to seek to discover the origin of the sacrificial system contained in the Pentateuch, whether the essential elements of the system were natural or revealed.

If the origin of the spiritual content of the Mosaic system of sacrifices was naturalistic, the system will bear marks of its naturalistic provenance, even though, like the "judgments," promulgated by divine authority; but if it were revelatory, it will, in that case, bear marks of its divine provenance

and show characteristics distinctly not naturalistic, neither borrowed from others nor developed from institutions or environment. Credence makes this demand and the demand will not be disappointed. Faith is not believing without evidence, merely "swallowing things," but believing upon sufficient evidence. Revelation addressed to faith always supplies sufficient, and also coördinate evidence, evidence of the same rank and dignity as the revelation itself. Thus God never asks us to believe except upon evidence sufficient both in quantity and quality. He has, indeed, so constituted us that we cannot believe except upon evidence sufficient to produce a conviction of the truth of that which we are asked to believe. However impossible it may be for us to understand what he asks us to believe, he always provides evidence quite sufficient in kind and quantity to satisfy us that it is true. So revelation always carries its credentials with it. The Mosaic system of sacrifices, does it bear divine credentials, or does it come accredited only by the seal of human institutions?

Since Pentateuchal times, as manifest in the expression of the Pentateuchal records, have already been shown to have been so distinctly Egyptian, it might seem that the scope of this present investigation was limited, in search for any naturalistic origin of the Mosaic sacrifices, entirely to the Egyptian field of influences. But not so; and that for the reason that very special claims have been put forward for the Babylonian origin of the Mosaic

system of sacrifices as well as for the origin of the Tabernacle and its furniture and for part of the Pentateuchal record itself. It becomes necessary, before taking up the consideration of the Egyptian sacrifices and their bearing upon the Mosaic system, to give preliminary consideration to the Babylonian sacrifices and their relation to the Mosaic system. When the facts of both Babylonian and Egyptian sacrifices have been brought before us, it will only then be possible to conclude the argument and determine whether the marks of origin show human or divine provenance, whether the spiritual content of the Mosaic system had a naturalistic or a revelatory origin.

I. Did the Mosaic system of sacrifices have a Babylonian origin? It is sometimes definitely claimed, and is almost constantly assumed, by those who hold the current Documentary Theory concerning the early books of the Old Testament, that the Mosaic ritual is thoroughly Babylonian in character. This is urged as being very strong archaeological support for that critical theory. There is also the additional claim and assumption that this Babylonian origin was not altogether in far antiquity by tradition from the fathers, but was in large part through development by immediate influence of contact in the Exile period.

One of the things about which the advocates of the Documentary Theory maintain, for the most part, the very discreet silence of quiet assumption, is the origin of the ritual contained in the so-called

"P Document." On the one hand, they speak of a praxis in the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem which was "for the first time" written down by the school of Babylonian and Post-Exilic priests at the close of the Exile and afterward; and on the other hand, they assert that the prophets knew nothing of such a sacrificial system as is contained in the Ceremonial Law, because they say so little about the sacrifices and the ceremonies. But how could they be so ignorant of these ceremonies in view of the praxis in the Temple before the writing down of them in the "P Document?" To meet this situation, they speak of the "development" of the Law by the school of Babylonian priests and by Ezra. Kautzsch says: "Even after the Exile the further development of the Priests' Law was most zealously pursued in the priestly circles which had remained behind in Babylon. We say, 'In the Priestly circles," for it will appear that differences are not wanting which point to divergent theories and therefore to diverse hands and circles participating in the work. The priestly history and law-book in the Pentateuch was the product of various priestly schools in the period between 500 and 400 B.C., first in Babylon, then at Jerusalem (Kautzsch, *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 106)."

Wellhausen, in the condensed statement of his views in the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, says: "When the temple was destroyed and the ritual interrupted, the old practices were written down that they might not be lost." Thus in the Exile the ritual

became matter of teaching, Torah; the first who took this step, a step prescribed by the circumstances of the time, was the priest and prophet Ezekiel. In the last part of his book Ezekiel began the literary record of the customary ritual of the temple; other priests followed in his footsteps (Lev. XVII–XXVI); and so there arose during the captivity a school of men who wrote down and systemized what they had formerly practiced. When the temple was restored this theocratic zeal still went on and produced further ritual developments, in action and reaction with the actual practice of the new temple; the final result of the long-continued process was the Priestly Code."

Now, out of this confusion we may gather such ideas of the real origin of the ritual according to the Documentary Theory as are possible. Whatever praxis was in the Temple at Jerusalem must, according to their theory, have been of immediate Palestinian origin, but from ultimate Babylonian influence through such influence in Palestine. Whatever portion of the ritual came from "development" by "Babylonian priests" in Babylon or after the return to Jerusalem would be of Babylonian origin direct.

2. The views held by Babylonian archaeologists, while somewhat varied, have generally appeared upon superficial examination to favor this view taken by the radical criticism as to the Babylonian origin of the Mosaic system of sacrifices. The exact facts in the case, however, are that Babylonian

archaeologists have only, as true archaeologists, and not as critics, pointed out the similarities between Babylonian and Mosaic sacrifices. That the similarity was identity in this case has been assumed, not proved.

Professor Sayce, who can hardly be suspected of intentionally favoring the radical modern criticism, finds striking parallels in nearly everything in ritual and in the house of worship, except that the tower of a Babylonian temple was something very different from anything about the Tabernacle, and that, instead of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle, the Babylonians had a ship (*Gifford Lectures*, pp. 460, 472). Sayce also quotes Zimmern as agreeing with him (cf. Zimmern, *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*, p. 127). But Professor Sayce has also this to say of Babylonian and Israelite worship: "It is true that there is a gulf, wide and impassable, between the Babylonian religion as we decipher it in the cuneiform tablets and the religion of Israel as it is presented to us in the Old Testament. On the one side, we have a gross and grotesque polytheism; on the other an uncompromising monotheism. Babylonian religion made terms with magic and sorcery, and admitted them in a certain degree to its privileges; they were not incompatible with polytheism; but between them and the worship of one God there could be no reconciliation. It was the same with the sensualities that masqueraded at Erech in the garb of a religious cult; they belonged

to a system in which the sun-god was Baal, and a goddess claimed the divided adoration of man. To Israel they were forbidden, like the necromancy and witchcraft with which they were allies" (*Gifford Lectures*, p. 500).

Professor Jastrow says: "Lists embodied in Gudea's inscriptions which may be regarded as typical, enumerate oxen, sheep and goats, doves and other domesticated birds, chickens, ducks and geese (?), various kinds of fish, dates, figs, cucumbers, butter, oil , cakes. In what way the animals to be offered were selected we do not as yet know, but it is eminently likely that with the perfected organization of the priesthood regular tariffs were set up, prescribing what was to be brought on each occasion and in what amounts—very much as in the various Pentateuchal codes and Phoenician sacrificial tariffs" (Jastrow, *The Civilization of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 277).

Professor Rodgers in more general terms expresses himself as follows: "The study of the religion of Babylonia is, indeed, of the highest importance for the understanding of Israel's faith, but it is of far less importance than some modern scholars have attempted to demonstrate" (*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, p. 375).

After these quotations of opinion, let us examine the facts for ourselves. In considering the significance of the facts of Babylonian archaeology in relation to the Mosaic system of sacrifices, it is important, first of all, to keep in mind what was

pointed out at the beginning of these quotations from Babylonian experts, that the facts they present show only similarity between the Babylonian and the Mosaic ritual. Any opinion they may express concerning the actual Babylonian origin of Mosaic sacrifices is an assumption that such similarity in itself constitutes identity. The assumption that similar things are the same things has led many into the fatal fallacy of mistaken identity. Great care should be exercised at this point lest we make that fatal mistake here.

Certain general principles, objects, and acts of ritual were common in the sacrifices of all Bible lands in ancient times. In general, there were the same materials, animals, fowls, grains, vegetables, and flowers used in sacrifice; these being the materials at hand. In the act of sacrifice, there was the shedding of blood, whether ceremonial or merely physical; the bringing of offerings and their presentation on the tables and altars. There were ablutions, libations and incensing. All these acts of the ritual required, in general, somewhat similar arrangements everywhere. And though the architecture and the materials might be entirely local and so distinctive and peculiar, indeed, entirely unique, the end to be served being, in general, the same, similarity in arrangement and general appearance was inevitable. Not only are these the facts in the case, but they are according to the nature of things. Principles being eternal and universal may be transported and thus found the world over, so that they do not in any case, of themselves, reveal provenance.

In addition to these general considerations, the assumed identity of the Babylonian and Mosaic rituals will not bear careful examination. There was no laying on of hands, in the Babylonian sacrifices, while in the Mosaic sacrifices this was the most significant act of the ritual, claiming, as it did, the victim as a substitute for the offerer. The holocaust, also, though existing in the Babylonian sacrifice, did not assume the place of prominence or importance that it had in the Mosaic system. Thus another significant ritual act, that of complete dedication, does not appear in the Babylolnian sacrifices with anything like the prominence it has in the Mosaic sacrifices. On the other hand, the Babylonian religious cult consisted largely in incantations and divination, both of which were absolutely forbidden in the Mosaic laws (Lev. XIX. 26–31; XX. 27; Deut. XVIII. 10). Professor Jastrow, who cannot be, on any account, considered as a witness prejudiced against Babylonian origin for the Mosaic sacrifices, says, in arguing that the Babylonian hymns are of later origin than the incantations, "From this point of view it is therefore significant to find the large place taken in the practice of the religion by incantation rituals and divination practices" (*Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 239–240). Though in later times there were spiritual hymns and prayers, these incantations were still retained (Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 240, cf. 278; cf. also, Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, pp. 402–3). Thus, when we have eliminated

the materials (with one exception to be presently noted) which were, in large measure, common to all Bible lands, and also eliminated the general purposes served by the ritual, which were also the same in Babylonia, in the Mosaic ritual, and elsewhere, it is found that there is really very little in the Babylonian ritual that suggests a common origin with the Mosaic sacrifices, while the most prominent element of the Babylonian cult, the incantations and divination, is not only wanting but positively forbidden, in the Mosaic system of worship. When now we recall that general principles are eternal and universal, and so may be transported, the little that does indicate possible identity of origin between the Babylonian and the Mosaic sacrifices loses most of its force. If some channel of transport may be shown to have existed, then, in that case, there will remain no evidence of Babylonian provenance in the origin of the Mosaic sacrifices at all.

Such a channel of transport is distinctly shown in the history of Israel. In Joshua (XXIV. 14) reference is made to the gods which the fathers worshipped "beyond the flood and in Egypt." It is ofttimes overlooked that these were the same gods "beyond the flood" and "in Egypt." The Hebrew syntax requires this interpretation. It is not said, "The gods they worshipped beyond the flood" and "the gods they worshipped in Egypt," but rather "The gods they worshipped beyond the flood and in Egypt;" the same gods. We are thus

distinctly informed of the transport of the Babylonian cult by "the fathers" into Egypt—and its retention there in the time of the sojourn. The Israelites did, in fact, retain Babylonian religious traditions throughout the Egyptian sojourn and until the beginning of the revelation in the wilderness. Even the calf-worship at Sinai was not Apis worship, as it is so often said to have been, and still more often assumed to have been, but was Semitic bull worship. The Egyptians never worshipped the image of the Apis bull, but the living bull itself (*Bible Student*, 1902, pp. 71–78). If the Israelites had wished to introduce Apis worship at Sinai they would not have made a golden calf as they did, and as Jereboam did afterwards at Bethel and at Dan, but would have searched their herds and have waited until one was found with the true marks, as was the custom in Egypt. That Semitic customs should thus be in some part, at least, the mold into which the spiritual content would be poured in the revelatory period in the wilderness, and that the general principles associated with those customs should appear at the same time, is quite to be expected. Thus the channel of transport for these forms and principles being provided, there remains no positive, and certainly no conclusive, evidence of Babylonian provenance for the origin of the Mosaic sacrifices.

The question of a Patriarchal origin of the Mosaic ritual among Canaanite influences needs no more than a single paragraph in its consideration. It has

just appeared that whatever of Babylonian influences appeared in the wilderness religious experience came through the "fathers" who carried the worship of the early days in Babylonia down into Egypt with them. Later on, the Israelites were apprised of the amazement with which the Canaanites would view all these wonderful "statutes," while no wonderment is expected concerning the "judgments." The "judgments" were, as the word indicates, "judgings," decisions of judges, common law, well known among the people, selected and corrected and authorized by God in the promulgation through Moses. The Canaanites would not wonder at these, because largely familiar. But the "statutes," the embodiment of the religious beliefs and practices of these Israelites, would fill them with amazement. It is impossible for the "statutes" to have been derived from the Canaanites and yet still fill them with such wonderment (Kyle, *A New Solution of the Pentateuch*).

The absence of evidence, however, is not enough in any case, nor is it all in this case. We are now to see that there is positive evidence that the provenance of the Mosaic system of sacrifices was not Babylonian. While general principles are eternal and universal and so, where transportable, do not betray provenance, externalities, especially those of an incidental character whose employment is rather subconscious than intentional, are not eternal and universal, but temporary and local and so do betray provenance. A striking and beautiful illus-

tration of this is found in the history of the observance of the Lord's Supper. The sublime commemorative and witness-bearing character of the supper has been the same in principle in all ages, but how different the externalities which are incidental to time and place and which betray the provenance in each case. Our Lord and his immediate disciples reclined about the table in Roman fashion, and the table itself was probably the Roman triclineum. In post-reformation days down to very recent time we have a vision of the throngs pressing forward to seat themselves about an improvised table, and in accord with modern occidental customs, or gathering instead in long procession before an altar-rail. Now, instead of the long tables, we see the shining trays of little glass cups passing along the ranks of pews to the communicants, who sit in their own places to partake of the supper, and not at a table at all. The unleavened bread and fermented wine have also given way to common bread and sweet grape juice. These various externalities in forms and materials will always betray to the historian the time and place in history of the celebration of the supper in each case.

We have seen how exactly this same principle held true in the construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture; how, not the irregular architecture of the Babylonian temple, but the simple architecture of the Egyptian model, was employed in the Tabernacle. We have also seen how, not the incongruous ship of the Babylonians, but the per-

fectly harmonious Ark of the Egyptians, was used in the Tabernacle and was carried exactly as the Egyptian Ark was carried by the Egyptians. The sacrifices also suggest not a single principle peculiar to the Babylonians and not a single one of its peculiar features, but only such principles and features of the Babylonian sacrifices as were common to them with many others.

Last of all, and most important of all, the incense was compounded, not of ingredients belonging to the alluvial plains of Babylon, which, indeed, do not produce incense, but altogether of ingredients from the desert of Sinai and Arabia and adjacent places. Not only is this known now because of the knowledge of the products of those lands, but it was known to Ezekiel and equally to the people for whom he wrote the Doom of Tyre, in which he described geographically the region from which the spices of the incense came (Ez. XXVII; cf. Schoff; also Lecture III. pp. 138–140).

The question of the incense in the Babylonian religion is an obscure one. Herodotus says that the Babylonians used incense and imported 1000 talents each year for one great festival in the worship of Bel (Herodotus, I. 183). He mentions only frankincense. Sir George Birdwood, M.D., C.S.I. (*Ency. Brit.*) says that the "marbles" of Nineveh furnished frequent illustration of the use of incense. Professor Sayce mentions incense "brought from the southern coast of Arabia" (*Gifford Lectures*, 1902, p. 466). But Assyriologists generally say little

about the use of incense in Babylonian religion. Professor Jastrow in the latest publication of studies in Babylonian religion has nothing on the subject of the incense. Professor Barton's admirable compendium of the religions of the world has not a word on the subject of the incense in Babylonian religion. Moreover, the pictures of Babylonian life and religion have certainly very little representation of the use of incense notwithstanding the statement of Sir George Birdwood. I have not been able to find a single picture that shows the use of incense. Even Professor Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, with its large and most excellent list of offering scenes, has nothing that unmistakably shows the use of incense. The guess sometimes made that "the bag carried in the hand" contained incense will hardly pass for evidence.

What a remarkable contrast all this presents to the Egyptian representations of the constant use of incense. Few, if any, scenes are more frequently pictured than the incensing of the offerings and the offering of incense to the gods. Now, the Levitical ritual, with its lavish use of incense and its special mention not only of "frankincense," which Herodotus says the Babylonians used, but "stracte" and "galbanum," ingredients belonging to the region from which the Levitical ritual claims to have come and very far away from the Babylonian plains—does it present any evidence that it is the product of priests in Babylonia who have never known

anything but Babylonian surroundings? I suppose it will be easy to suppose—it is easy to suppose anything—easy to suppose, I say, that this particular part of the Levitical ritual was written by some priest after he had returned to Jerusalem. Great is the adaptability of this wonderful Documentary Theory of suppositions! But notwithstanding all these suppositions, if this ritual was written by priests in Exile or after the Exile, it is incredible that they should not bear some mark distinctive of the Babylonian region.

These things, even before we have found indisputable evidence of provenance of the externals of the Mosaic system elsewhere, are sufficient to show conclusively that the Mosaic system of sacrifices did not have a Babylonian origin. It is quite easy, by giving Pentateuchal names to the representations in Babylonian temples, to make also resemblances that sometimes seem to deceive not only the reader, but the writer himself. One of the greatest of oriental scholars has thought, "God's light lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and the religions of Egypt and Babylonia illustrate the words of the evangelist. They form, as it were, the background and preparation for Judaism and Christianity; Christianity is the fulfillment, not of the Law only, but of all that was truest and best in the religions of the ancient world. In it the beliefs and aspirations of Egypt and Babylonia have found their explanation and fulfillment" (Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, 1902, VI). I venture to

suggest that there is a better explanation of the adumbrations of revealed religion that are found in the Egyptian and Babylonian religions; it is that they are but mythical perversions of the antidiluvian revelation which, after the flood, went off along all lines of migration. For these adumbrations are not confined to Egypt and Babylonia, but are found, sometimes even more remarkably, all over the world (cf. *Mythology of All Races*, especially Vol. X., North American).

II. Did the Mosaic sacrifices have an Egyptian provenance? In answer to this question, there are to be presented the results of some years of investigation of Egyptian offerings as they are shown in the pictured representations by the painter and the sculptor. Research has not been limited to the pictures to the exclusion of the inscriptions, the classic writers and the more recent literature of the subject, but most attention has been given to the pictured representations, and that for strong reasons; on the one hand, the description of an unfamiliar ritual of a very imperfectly understood creed and worship, and that recorded in a difficult tongue, such as is any account of the offerings contained in the Egyptian inscriptions, is peculiarly liable to be misunderstood—indeed, all rituals come in time to be full of technical phrases which need to be explained according to the spirit of the service and are not understood by the strict letter of the rubric; on the other hand, the painter and the sculptor will prove the best commentators

on the offerings, because, though the gods were supposed to be delighted with the smell and the taste, sacrifice was, for the people, essentially a spectacle, intended to impress and assist the *beholder*, a visual symbolism, and by the necessities of the case, whatever was essential for instruction in the sacrifice would be seen in the ceremony and shown in the pictures or it would be *utterly lost*. Thus the pictured representations of the offerings, if but the induction be wide enough, are certain to reveal everything that the sacrifice was intended to teach.

I confess to something of reluctance mingled with the pleasure of giving to the public the results of this investigation. He who ventures, upon however good grounds, to contravene long-accepted opinion is sure to meet at the outset much incredulity and some opposition. He who enters into a new field of investigation is likely to excite at first more curiosity than enthusiasm. Strange as it may seem, such an investigation had not before been made, or if made, not published. It will be important to satisfy ourselves on that point before entering upon the account of this investigation and its results. It will be helpful, also, to take such a survey of the literature of the subject as will enable us to see upon how small a foundation of real scientific investigation and conclusion the common beliefs concerning Egyptian sacrifices rest, by observing how little Egyptologists have written upon the subject. It is usually impossible for one to say

that he knows all the literature of a subject, and especially of such a subject, in no sense popular, so that much that is written upon it remains in great obscurity. Then there are published in various languages so many books and pamphlets of very limited edition, which find their way into few or no public libraries or catalogues. But, perhaps, to most minds, it will be accounted sufficient in this case that there has been most careful and exhaustive research in the library of the British Museum, the National Library of Paris, the Royal Library of Berlin, the library of the University of Pennsylvania, the Ridgway branch of the Philadelphia Library and the Astor Library of New York. The literature of the Egyptian sacrifices thus brought together is pitifully small. A modest volume by Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, a booklet by l'Abbe Victor Ancessi on *Les Vetements du Grand Prête et des Levites*. *Religion and Mythology*, by Heinrich Brugsch, with hardly a notice of the sacrifices in it. Three works by Professor Gaston Maspero, *The Ancient History of the Classic Orient*, *La Table d'Offrandes des tombes Egyptiens*, and the *Dawn of Civilization*, each with but little notice on this subject; a few lines by Isaac Myer in *The Oldest Books of the World;* something concerning human sacrifice by Amalineau in his *Résumé de l' Histoire de l'Egypte*, and a discussion of the fundamental idea of sacrifice by E. Lefabure in his work on *Rites Egyptiens*. Perhaps by far the most complete discussion of the

subject of Egyptian sacrifices is by Professor Maspero in a course of lectures delivered in Paris about 1897, in which he told me he treated the subject exhaustively; but unfortunately for the world the lectures were never published. The most remarkable thing about this very meager list of books is the remarkable brevity with which most of them discuss the subject of sacrifice. It is still more astonishing and disappointing that by far the largest portion of the books and lecture courses and articles in encyclopedias on Egyptian religion say nothing whatever on the subject of sacrifice. The three great histories of Egypt from the monuments, the work of the great Brugsch, of Petrie and of Budge only refer to the sacrifices in the most incidental way, while Renouf, in his *Hubbard Lectures* of 1879, can hardly be said to refer to the subject at all. Professor Sayce in his *Gifford Lectures* on the religion of Egypt and Assyria does not treat the subject, and Professor Steindorf in his American lectures of 1908 passed over the sacrifices in a few paragraphs.

Now, notwithstanding so little investigation has been made concerning the Egyptian sacrifices, and so little written upon the subject by Egyptologists, yet they, in common with others not professedly familiar with the technicalities of Egyptology, have constantly referred to the "Egyptian sacrifices," "The sacrificial system of Egypt," "The sacrifices to the gods," "The growth of the sacrificial idea," and "The resemblance between the sacrifices of

Egypt and those of other Oriental countries." Such language assumes that appearances in the offerings of Egypt were similar to the appearances in the sacrifices of other Oriental places, and that realities in Egypt corresponded, not only to those appearances, but to the meaning of those appearances elsewhere. Persons are seen bringing animals and other objects to the priests; it is assumed that these were sacrifices in the ordinary sense, propitiatory or expiatory. The slaying of the victim is shown; it has been assumed that its life was for the life of the offerer. Parts of animals and other objects are seen heaped upon offering tables; it has been assumed that they were peace offerings or thank-offerings. Other pieces of flesh and collections of vegetables are seen sometimes, though, comparatively, only rarely, upon the altar itself. It has often been assumed that they were burned. Thus Egypt has been given, by a kind of tacit consent, a whole elaborate system of sacrifices similar to the sacrifices of the Romans, the Greeks, the Phoenacians or the Hebrews, according to the viewpoint and predelictions of the writer. Assumptions have not stopped here, nor, indeed, could they stop here. Once admitted that the countless offerings were real sacrifices to the gods, and the conclusion was certain, if not irresistible, that the abundance of sacrifices held a very important place in the national life of the people; and once admitted that the offerings in any sense took the place of the offerer or appeased the gods, and the other assump-

tion was most natural, that the offerings had a most important bearing upon the worshipper's hope of acceptance with the gods. These assumptions have been explicit on the part of most scholars not technically Egyptologists; they have had positive beliefs on the subject. They have been implicit on the part of many Egyptologists; they have not had positive beliefs, but they have taken over the assumptions bodily, adopted their appropriate nomenclature and permitted, without protest or warning, the general acceptance of the belief in such a system of Egyptian sacrifices.

But science should assume nothing but intuitions, self-evident truths and such presuppositions in any particular investigation as are clearly stated. Let us then clear the whole field of vision by sweeping away all these assumptions, and inquire into the real meaning of every appearance that comes before us as the Egyptians have pictured themselves at their public and private rites, and thus learn what their monuments show to have been the *Materials*, the *Method*, and the *Meaning* of their sacrifices.

But no one is able intelligently to weigh the results of research as announced by anyone without knowing the extent of the induction by which the research had proceeded. Travelers sometimes announce the most astonishing customs as prevailing in foreign lands, whose discoveries are found, upon investigation, to rest in each case upon but a single instance, and that an absurd accident. A

lecturer of our own land who had been "doing Europe" solemnly and indignantly announced that the farmers of the Continent harnessed and hitched their wives and their dogs together, and, of course, horrified his auditors, except the few who happened to know that he had seen the kind-hearted woman giving the poor dog a lift when the load was heavy. You will want to know whether or not the conclusions in this instance are similarly a case of "one woman and one dog." Here again it is impossible for one to say that he has seen everything. Nor is it necessary to have seen everything. The demonstration is not, and cannot be mathematical, but logical, an induction. I hope that the induction of offering scenes about to be exhibited is wide enough to satisfy everyone that what does not appear therein either was esteemed of small importance in the minds of the Egyptians or was accorded but a limited acceptance and observance among them.

The examination of publications has extended to all the great monuments of Egypt portrayed by Lepsius in the twelve great elephant folio volumes of the *Denkmaler* and to all those discovered since his day as published by the Egyptian Exploration Society and also a large portion of the works of Marriette, Dumichen, Garstang, Pierret, Naville, Petrie and Quibbell. The examination of antiquities has included, in the British Museum, all the large monuments, frescoes from tombs, coffins, sarcophagi and mummy cases, and the immense num-

ber of tablets and steles, except a very few not at the time on exhibition. At Gower St. College, London, the valuable collection of Professor Petrie. At Leyden, the fine collection of tablets containing scenes of offerings, and the vignettes of what is one of the largest and most valuable collection of papyri of the Book of the Dead. At the New Museum in Berlin all the inscribed sculptures, large and small, on exhibition, especially the large number of sepulchral tablets and other tablets bearing scenes of offerings, together with the mummy cases and tomb inscriptions. At the Louvre in Paris, all the inscribed monuments with the tablets and steles, especially the great Mariette collection in the *Salle d'apis*, where the offerings are seen presented before the visible bull. Later I studied the vast number of sacrificial scenes in the Museum at Cairo, and especially, through the kindness of the Museum authorities, the unapproached collection of funerary tablets with offering scenes. In addition to all this, I examined a large portion of the monuments still *in situ* in Egypt. This completes the examination of scenes of offerings, so that my examination has extended to all but comparatively a very few of the known scenes of the offerings.

1. The Materials. From this wide induction of the representations of Egyptian offerings found among the abundant descriptive and illustrative remains of Egypt, a number of scenes have been selected to bring before us all that the monuments actually contained concerning the sacrifices. Keep-

ing in mind the spectacular nature of the sacrifice, the failure of the offering scenes to show some expected things will prove quite as interesting and instructive as any of the things they present. Ten thousand scenes do represent offerings of some sort, and, judging by the frequency with which the offering scenes occur, it must be concluded that the offerings were among the most common and universal events of Egyptian life. Mural sculptures, paintings on temple walls, and especially in the dark recesses of the elaborate tombs of Egypt's noble dead keep the idea of offerings ever before the mind of the explorer as it must have been before the mind of the mourner and the worshipper. The gorgeous funeral procession in a scene, e.g., in the tomb of Nefer Hotep (pl. XII, fig. 1), from the time it departed on its western journey until it had entered, and again left, the tomb was a constant and, indeed, ostentatious display of offerings. They lade the boats, are waved in the hands, presented upon tables and heaped upon the floor of the tomb.

Sculptured steles, as one of Anna of the XVIII. dynasty, in addition to the long eulogistic account usually given of the dead, did not fail to find place for some representation of offerings. In this scene are altars heaped with offerings to Temu, Ptah and other gods. Sarcophagi and their enclosed coffins, and, in the New Empire, the cartonage or ornamented outer wrappings of the mummy itself were elaborately illuminated with funeral boats and other scenes from the funeral procession.

Even the papyri of the book of the dead contain (pl. XV, fig. 1), among the beautiful illuminated vignelles, pictures of funeral processions with the offerings, though the text of the Book of the Dead says but little about them. In the great papyrus of Ani, one of the finest of the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead, the funeral car is seen richly decorated with floral offerings, and the offerings are shown at last heaped in great profusion before the tomb.

The materials of the sacrifices here already appeared and need only to be mentioned. Whatever obscurity clouds the subject of the offerings, the materials are, for the most part, plain enough. Among animals, there were oxen and gazelles; among birds, geese and probably wild fowls and pigeons; bread, beer, wine, oil, water, milk; wax, incense, clothing; besides utensils and weapons of every kind placed in the tombs. In addition to what is seen, we have the great offering lists recorded at Medinet Habou and the oft-reiterated lists of offerings in the funeral formulas, "Sepulchral meals of bread, beer, oxen, geese, clothes, utensils, wax, pure water, wine, milk, and all good things." "May they give sepulchral meals, oxen, geese, bread, cloth, incense, wax; thousands of all things good and pure, thousands of all things sweet and pleasant; gifts of heaven, products of earth, tributes of the Nile out of his storehouses, to the High Priest of Osiris, Nebuaiu, justified" (Saint Nebuaiu).

An unusually good illustration of the materials of the offerings, together with the preparation and

presentation of them as depicted in the funeral scenes, is to be seen in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The tomb of Ra-ka-pu contains three elaborate offering scenes, one of which is as follows: A long procession of servants bring provisions for the dead man's table. Some are seen slaying and dismembering oxen, and carrying quarters of dressed beef. Others bring great quantities of bread, oil, wine and beer, and bunches of bananas, trussed fowls and wild birds. As the procession draws nearer the table, the profusion of supplies increases more and more until the representation of it becomes almost inextricable confusion. At last the artist despairs of rendering all in detail and contents himself with conventional representation of the great heap on the table itself. The dead man has come from the tomb behind and seated himself at this table to feast upon the abundance until he rise again.

Thus droves of bullocks, with rams and gazelles and geese, are brought for the offerings, or are being butchered and made ready (pl. XIII, fig. 2); altars, as in the scene on the stele of Anna, or offering tables, as more frequently, are seen heaped high with legs of beef, trussed geese, loaves of bread, jars of oil or other liquid, and all these built up with mathematical precision in perpendicular heaps to an astonishing height. Libations of wine or water are poured and incense is offered. Among almost innumerable instances Thothmes IV. of the XVIII. dynasty is seen thus before Her-em-Khut; and

Seti I., the first great king of the XIX. dynasty, is seen in a beautiful sculpture with censer and libation vase. While Ptolemy XVI., almost at the end of that detested foreign rule, and long after the Egyptian dynasties had come to an end and Egyptian religion had yielded much to foreign influence, is seen burning incense before the gods in the old orthodox fashion. A scene from a painting at Thebes is especially interesting as showing the bearing of palm-branches, a practice, which, unlike most Egyptian customs, does not seem to have prevailed from the earliest times (cf. pl. XV. fig. 1).

Some eminent Egyptologists, as Amelineau (*Résumé de l'Histoire de l'Egypte*) and Lefabure (*Rites Egyptiens*) have concluded from the statements made by the Egyptians themselves that they offered human sacrifice. The evidence does not seem to me to support this view conclusively, and certainly does not establish human sacrifice as an usual religious rite among Egyptians. I find no instance of their appearing on either the offering table or the altar. Kings are, indeed, seen gathering together, by the hair of the head, captives taken in war, while they brandish over them a battle axe, as does the Assyrian Senhacherib, or far on in Egyptian history, as the Ptolemies, a huge sword, as though to decapitate the whole lot at a blow, as depicted in a scene from Aethiopia. Native Egyptian princes usually brandish the club instead of the battle-axe or sword. Such pictures probably indicate the slaying of prisoners; some instances, perhaps, the exe-

cution of criminals; but, standing alone, they furnish no evidence of human sacrifice. It is not so long since the gates and walls of British and European cities were adorned by human heads. Is some future archaeologist to conclude that these were human sacrifices? Or what will he think of such a scene as that in which women are seen hurled from the top of a castle tower into the mote below? Such scenes depict events less than 400 years old in the history of Europe. To devote one's enemies to the gods as a way of cloaking revenge and cruelty with the semblance of piety may have been common enough among Egyptian kings, but it lacks utterly the ceremonial and the solemnity of sacrifice. If the Egyptians ever did, in a quiet, orderly, formal and solemn manner, offer human sacrifices, they must have been ashamed of them, for they have relegated them to the obscurity and discredit of silence. Moreover, if a few isolated instances of human sacrifice could be established beyond doubt, even that would not be enough sufficiently to support the charge of human sacrifice as a part of the religious rites of the Egyptians. In many countries and many ages, and among many peoples, there have been fanatics who now and then have lapsed into this horrible tragedy. It is but a few years since such a case was reported from New England. Are the archaeologists of the future to conclude from that crime that the Americans, from the Pilgrim Fathers down, practiced human sacrifice?

2. The Method. The *Method* of sacrifice becomes much more important than the *Materials*, because it is through the method mainly that we approach toward the *Meaning*. It is here, also, that the pictorial representations are especially valuable. There is seen the slaying of animals, as, among other representations, in a remarkable scene of the slaying of the funeral victims from a V. dynasty tomb at Sakkarah. The preparation of the slain victims is depicted with great vividness and much detail. The animals are slain; the limbs of large animals cut off and carried by attendants. Fowls and birds are presented, sometimes in the feathers, sometimes trussed. Along with these bloody offerings are presented also flowers, jars of oil, wine and beer and loaves of bread, all in great abundance.

In the funeral pageants of the noble and great, these offerings were paraded with great ostentation. A boat loaded with the offerings had its place in the procession (pl. XII, fig. 1) as ostentatiously as the open carriage for the flowers sometimes seen in a funeral procession in our own cities. But the Egyptians employed slaves, instead of hired cabmen, and those are seen carrying offerings upon their shoulders or leading animals for the sacrifice.

In a beautiful sculpture from the tomb of Ti (pl. XV, fig. 2) of the XVIII. dynasty, who was of foreign nativity, women symbolically representing different lands bring their various offerings on their heads. The offerings at the tomb were heaped in

great profusion usually upon tables, sometimes on shelves like cases in a museum, and left there and found in these later generations by the explorer. When the offerings were to the gods they are very occasionally seen upon the altars, but usually upon offering tables of graceful pattern. When the funeral ceremonies were over, the farewells were taken at the door of the tomb with the offering of incense and the pouring of libations (pl. XV, fig. 1).

Thus far, all is clear and well known, but this is all that is known clearly concerning the offerings to the dead and to the gods. When it is asked what was done to indicate the relation of the gift to the giver, and what was further done with the sacrifices after they were placed upon the altar or the offering table or in the tomb, no satisfactory answer can be given. That some of the funerary offerings remained at the tomb is certain, for they have been found there, as already stated. Whether they were usually thus abandoned or were usually only brought and offered and then, for the most part, taken away to be used or sold, does not appear. Some things have been assumed, but, I think, cannot be shown. Perhaps it is permissible to admit the general assumption that they were not wasted.

The relation of the offering to the offerer in Egyptian offerings is one of great obscurity. What it is known not to have been is more, and more important also, than what it is known to have been. That the offering to the gods was an offering from the offerer and not merely supplies or a species of

tribute due to the god, seems sufficiently attested by the worshipful attitude of the offerer, instead of the business-like conduct that would otherwise be expected. That the offering was *instead* of the offerer, there is no evidence. Herodotus says it was so (Herodotus, II. 39), and he may have witnessed the imprecations over the head for the transfer of the impending evil from the offerer to the offering, which he describes, or he may have supplied it from his knowledge of sacrifices in general. If he actually saw what he describes, it may have been that Greek or other foreign influence produced it, or what he saw may have been an exceptional case. Certain it is that the innumerable pictures of Egyptian sacrifice do not support his statement. Holding the victim by the horn or the head in order to cut its throat, occasionally seen, was certainly not a ceremonial act. The practice could not have been a common one among the Egyptians, otherwise it could not have escaped entirely the pencil and the chisel of the artist; yet, of the ten thousand sacrificial scenes which I have examined, I do not know of a single instance in which the laying on of the hands, or any other ceremony to donate transfer, is depicted. The transfer of the sins of the offerer to the victim, and the substitution of the victim for the offerer, has thus no support, whatever, in the offering scenes.

One question yet remains concerning the method of sacrifices to the gods; what was done with them? The answer is three-fold; they were presented before

the god, sometimes waved in the hand, or most frequently laid upon the offering table, and more rarely placed upon an altar. It is a reasonable presumption that they were not wasted, but that, after being presented, they were taken away for the benefit of the offerer or the priest, though this is not certainly known. There is no evidence of any additional ceremonial, and it is certain that the sacrifices were not burned. Herodotus asserts unequivocally, indeed, that the Egyptians burned sacrifices (Herodotus, II. 39). That he may have seen all that he describes actually practiced in his day, when Greek influence was great in Egypt, cannot be doubted; that he may have supplied much of the significance, and something even of the practices, of sacrifice from his own ideas of sacrifice may be suspected. The well-nigh innumerable scenes of offerings do not justify the acceptance of Herodotus' statement as true of really Egyptian sacrifices. Indeed, I have been unable to find a single indubitable instance of the burning of the sacrifices on the Egyptian altar depicted; that there may have been isolated instances of such a practice is not improbable; that it was not an important or significant part of the regular sacrificial worship of the Egyptians is certain. For, where the idea of the burning exists, it eclipses all other ideas. It is the final act in the great tragedy. It would be inconceivable that every artist in depicting Egyptian sacrifices, should have missed the central idea of the rite, and this, when Egyp-

tian artists are preëminent in catching the characteristic features of everything they depicted. If it could be thought that, for some reason to us unknown, the Egyptian artists were forbidden by kings and priests, under whom they worked, to depict the burning, we may yet appeal to the graffiti left by quarrymen at Silsileh. Certainly, to a mere observer, the burning of the sacrifice attracts more attention than any other part of the rite. If burning was a common feature of the offerings, surely these irresponsible quarrymen would have depicted that above everything else, yet these graffiti with pictures of sacrifice, show no burning.

Another scene may be thought by some to represent the burning, though I cannot think that it does so. A careful examination of what at first sight looks something like a conventional representation of flames, pyramidal forms rising above the heap of offerings, will, I think, convince anyone that they are not so, but are conventional pictures of loaves of bread. Besides, the flame in art and in the hieroglyphics is usually represented by a little curved tongue. Even if this be the burning, it is not at all to the point here, for this scene is connected with the worship of the foreign gods Ansu and Renpu.

Another apparent exception to the statement that the monuments reveal no evidence that the Egyptian religion made use of the burning of the sacrifice is the uncovering, at Tel Defennch, by Professor Petrie, of foundation remains mingled with

ashes and pieces of bone. Probably this may properly be accepted as evidence of the burning of sacrifice. But this instance furnishes no evidence on the subject of Egyptian sacrifices, for the reason that this city, in the ancient time, was never a truly Egyptian city, but always one of those places set apart by the Egyptians, who hated foreigners, for the segregation of aliens who wished to dwell in Egypt. While it was called Tahpahnes, it was the home of Semitic people; when it became Daphnae, it was under the influence of the presence of great numbers of Greeks. That evidence of the burning of sacrifices among the Semitic and the Greek peoples of Tahpahnes-Daphnae should be found is not surprising, but it tells us nothing of Egyptian sacrifices, except as it adds another to the instances that go to show that the only evidences of the burning of the sacrifices in Egypt were furnished by foreign and hated religions.

No preparation was made for the burning of the sacrifice in Egypt; no brazier of fire is ever seen about the altar, except the censer or incense dish; no inflammable material is ever seen on the altar, or in waiting round about it, or being brought to it; and the arrangement of the sacrifices on the altar precludes the possibility of burning. Whole carcasses of animals and fowls, and the quarters of beeves, together with fruit and other offerings, are seen arranged on the altar to the very edge and built up in a heap with perpendicular sides to a great height. Even if inflammable material were

placed underneath, as is never seen, the burning would have been impossible; for no sooner would the flames have begun to melt the fat a little, than the whole heap would have slipped off in every direction onto the floor of the temple.

The altars themselves were not intended for the burning of sacrifices. being sometimes too small for the burning of such large sacrifices as are seen, perfectly flat on top, without flange or gutter to retain the fire and ashes on the top.

Moreover, the altars found and still *in situ* or in the Cairo Museum have never had sacrifices burned upon them. In the ruins of Abu Gurab, formerly called the Pyramid of Righa, about midway between Sakkara and the Great Pyramid, on the edge of the Western desert, which were fully explored in 1898–1901 by Doctors Borchardt and Schafer for the Berlin Museum, stands the largest and in some respects the most elaborate altar yet found in Egypt. It was erected by King Nuser-ra of the V. dynasty. It is nineteen feet long by eighteen feet broad and stands some four feet above the pavement of the temple of the sun-god in which it stood. In the large court of the temple once stood ten great circular basins, nine of which are still *in situ*. These basins were for the slaughter of bulls and the gutters for the blood are yet plainly seen, as well as the extensive system of canals which furnished drainage. Here, surely, if anywhere, we shall find evidence of the burning. Here is every appearance of preparation for the burnt-offering. But when we

come to examine the altar for evidence of it, we must take note that there is no preparation whatever for the retention of fire and ashes; that, on the other hand, the altar is constructed in an ornamental fashion of five blocks having four large interstices near the four corners, and that, moreover, we are confronted with the fatal fact that it is entirely made of exquisite white alabaster, the upper surface of which is as free from any stain of fire as the purest Carrara marble. A single holocaust here would have ruined this magnificent work of art. No altar built thus of alabaster could have been thought of as an altar of burnt-offerings, unless we suppose the Egyptian architects had lost all their senses.

In the Cairo Museum (No. 520, 1907–08), near the middle of the central atrium, is a large and beautiful altar in the form of a nearly rectangular block of dark grey granite. It was found by Gautier and Jéquier in the funerary chapel of Usertesen I of the XII dynasty near the Lisht pyramid. The top has no flange around it for the retention of fire, ashes and fuel, as if for burnt-offerings; indeed, by reason of a slight elevation in the decoration, the top has the effect of sloping a little at the edge. The top is completely covered with decorative carving. Two "Hotep" tables are placed back to back, while, at the sides, figures of the Nile and of the Nomes of Egypt are carrying the products of the soil. This decoration on the top, together with the absence of anything about the edge to retain

sacrificial material, seems to indicate that this altar was not intended for the holocaust, and the absence of the slightest trace of the effect of fire on the top is conclusive that it never was so used. The supposition that the offerings were placed in some metal vessel on the top of the altar is not admissible in view of the uniform representation of the offerings laid directly on the top of the altar itself. If it be thought that the altar of Usertesen, being in a funerary chapel and not in a place of general public worship, makes it not very conclusive in its evidential value, we may keep in mind on this point the great altar at Abu Gurab and turn now also to the other great altar *in situ* at Deir el-Bahari.

At the rock-cut Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari in the northern wing of the upper platform of the temple is a sanctuary of the Queen in front of which is a court and in the court a beautiful, great altar with an ascent of steps. It is not nearly as large as the altar of Abu Gurab, but far more beautiful. There is here a flange round about the top of the altar which is ornamental and might, also, have been useful. But here again we are confronted with the two conditions absolutely fatal to the thought that there was any intention in the making of this altar that it should be for the holocaust; there is not the slightest trace of the effect of fire to be seen on the altar-top, and the altar is constructed of limestone, to which a single fire would have been ruinous.

These three great altars cover the period of Egyptian history from the V dynasty at Abu Gurab to the XII dynasty in the altar of the funerary chapel of Usertesen I, to the XVIII dynasty in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, including thus the simplicity of the religious ideas of the Memphite Empire, the transition period of the First Theban Empire and the elaborate and ornate ritualism of the Second Theban Empire (following Professor Maspero's analysis of Egyptian history, giving to the religious life the dominant place in national character and development). However one may theorize at long range, standing in the presence of these altars, with all their tangible evidence striking one's senses, it seemed to me impossible even to suppose that during that long period, reaching from early times to the highest development of the Egyptian ritual, the holocaust was any part of the established worship of the Egyptians.

Of less definite character but of still greater interest than the great altars were instances from tomb decoration of burning of some sort. For some of these I am indebted to suggestions by Prof. W. Max Muller and M. Georges Legrain concerning such scenes in the tombs of Sheik Abt-el-Gurna by which I was enabled to find them in some minor tombs there; others I discovered here and in some of the less known tombs at El-Kab.

Representations of fire for any purpose are not common on the monuments. Braziers are often

seen and fire conventionally represented, but pictures of fire are rare. One which is to be seen in the tomb of Rekh-ma-ra, No. 35, Sheik Abt-el-Gurna, is important as giving clearly the Egyptian conception of the representation of a fire such as must be employed for the holocaust. It is on the left-hand side of the long corridor running back from the tomb chamber. It shows a fire over which some men are roasting food and is depicted conventionally (pl. XVI, fig. 1). A deep bed of fuel and live coals and a volume of ascending flames are the two things aimed at by the artist. These ideas of representation differ in nothing from our own. We know thereby what may most probably be expected if the holocaust be shown by the Egyptian artist. This scene occurs twice in this tomb.

In tomb No. 92, Sheik Abt-el-Gurna, is an offering scene with representation of burning. The scene of the burning occurs not once only, but four times clearly, and is represented also somewhat conventionally, but clearly (pl. XVI, fig. 2). If this, among the almost countless offering scenes, does represent the holocaust, it constitutes an exception, nothing more. It is to be noted that the offerings are not upon the great altar nor upon the offering-table, as usual, but upon a brazier similar in appearance, and more resembling, some of the altars of incense. In two instances it is carried in the hand. In the other two, though not carried in the hand, it is of the same size and general appearance as the two which are carried in the hand. By comparing the size of the brazier,

with the nearly life-size of the men who carry them, it is seen that they are about nine inches in height, including the stem, and nine inches across the bowl. On these hand braziers is a fowl with a number of articles heaped up and heaped to the very edge, and even hanging over the edge, of the brazier. No material for the burning is visible, though the bowl of the brazier may be full of coals. There is the appearance of flames coming out all around the edge of the brazier and the top of the heap of offerings. I say the appearance of flames. They are painted red. But it is not to be overlooked that the same red is spread over a large portion of the picture as well. It is the dominant color of the picture put on in a conventional way, and it is intended to represent something entirely different from the holocaust upon the great altar. It could hardly have been intended that the offering should be entirely consumed, though there may have been a bed of coals upon which the offerings were laid with the intention, not of consuming them, but of giving a "good smell." It seems to me that those who see these pictures and hastily say, "Oh, here is the holocaust," would do well to consider a moment. Suppose they try a holocaust in this way themselves and see if a fowl with bread and other materials to make a heap like this can be wholly consumed by such a fire as they can keep in a brazier nine inches across the bowl and not more than three inches deep. If it be said, "They poured oil over them and burned them in that way," it is forgotten that the vegetable

oils are not inflammable. They can be burned through a wick or in moderate quantities upon a fire, but cannot be kindled directly, much less used, as is here suggested, to burn other things. If anyone thinks these offerings were burned with oil, let him fill a dish with meat on a few coals, pour olive oil over it and try to light it with a match or torch. To burn a sacrifice with oil, there must be an inflammable oil, and even then it is a difficult thing to do, as some people in the Orient have learned to their great discomfiture in trying to burn some carcasses with the aid of inflammable oil. Now what inflammable oil did the Egyptians use with which to burn their sacrifices?

My own impression, after a very careful examination of these scenes, is that they do not represent the burning at all, much less the holocaust, but that they do represent an offering presented, over which has been poured burning incense or upon which dry incense has been poured and then ignited. This impression is very much deepened by the examination of the similar scenes in tomb No. 77, Sheik Abt-el-Gurna (pl. XVI, fig. 3). So badly was this tomb destroyed that I failed to find any name, and the royal cartouches also were so injured as to be illegible. In this tomb the brazier is shaped like a large mushroom or a small sunshade. Can anyone believe that this was intended for the holocaust? It seems to me that the only possible interpretations are either that it was intended merely to give a "good smell" or that it was the incensing of the offerings.

I incline much to the latter view because of the shape of the brazier and because the manner of presentation in the hand resembles more the offering of incense.

At the tomb of Setau, among the rock-cut tombs of El-Kab, is a unique scene on the rock-face on the outside of the tomb at the right-hand side of the door. It bears much resemblance to these scenes from the tombs of Sheik Abt-el-Gurna and may be a somewhat conventional representation of the same ceremony (pl. XVI, fig. 4). In this scene the flames, if they are such, are not represented coming out all over the heap of offerings as in the other instances noticed, but by a curve of dashes or short rays somewhat removed from the heap of offerings. This may be a conventional representation of the smoke and flames depicted in the other scenes described, but it seems to me also possible that it is no more than a conventional representation of the flowers often laid in profusion upon the offerings of the Egyptians. The period from which the tombs at Sheik Abt-el-Gurna date is the XVIII. dynasty. The tomb of Setau at El-Kab is of Rameses IX. of the XX. dynasty.

3. The Meaning. The *Meaning* of the sacrifices requires but a few words in addition to what has already appeared in the study of the *Materials* and the *Method*. The "tens of thousands" of the funerary offerings were probably, for the most part, intended only as supplies for the departed, sometimes, as in the inscriptions, only a wish or a prayer

for supplies never actually furnished, and they had no truly sacrificial significance. In the case of deified dead, particularly in the Osirian worship, something of a sacrificial meaning was acquired by the offerings, but of the vaguest character. The idea of supplies was not wholly wanting from the offerings to the gods, but was associated always with some really sacrificial intent. No imputation of sin from the offerer to the victim was known generally among the Egyptians, and hence no such expiation of sin as was taught among other nations. As the sacrifices were not burned, there was not the idea of such complete self-dedication as in a holocaust. It may perhaps be safely assumed, that the sacrifices were not, for the most part, wasted, after being offered; yet there is little or no evidence of any proper sacrificial feast. It seems significant that *hotep* used to denote the offering table means "peace" or "satisfaction," but the significance soon seems to be dissipated; the word is used for a table for funerary offerings, that were not at all sacrificial in character; at most the word only seems to point to a remote period when the true idea of expiation for sin may have been represented in the Egyptian sacrifices.

The Book of the Dead shows clearly that the Egyptian's hope for the future was in his good works. Very little mention of offerings is made in the Book of the Dead at all. A portion of the one hundred and twenty-fifth chapter reads as follows: "I have been doing the commandments of men; satisfied

are the gods by that. I have appeased God according to his will. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a boat to the shipwrecked. I have made offerings to the gods, sacrificial meals to the shining ones. Deliver ye me, then ye; protect me, then ye; make ye not accusation against me before the great god. I am pure of mouth, pure of hands." Thus he claimed that he appeased God by doing his will. All the offerings of which he makes mention were a sacrificial meal for the gods, i.e., as one of his good works he had kept the gods well supplied with provisions. The great iudgment scene is to the same effect (pl. IX, fig. 1). Though there is the usual table with offerings, the one predominantly significant part of the scene is the weighing of the dead man's heart against the truth.

In Ebers' Uarda a spectre is always stalking in the shadows, the spectre of Hebrew slavery. So, even though Israel had not been mentioned, it is impossible in a discussion of Egyptian sacrifices that there should not be stalking in the shadows of the imagination; a spectre, the spectre of the Aronic priesthood, about the ceremonial service. Even the Egyptologist. not to say the theologian, must ask planinly what all this has to do with the Israelite sacrificial system. This Hebrew spectre in priestly robes answers " nothing."

The ascertained facts concerning Egyptian sacrifices which are established by this investigation may be summarized as follows: A prodigious num-

ber of offerings were made by the Egyptian people throughout a large portion of their history, chiefly supplies for the gods, and, more especially, for the dead, in which offerings the sacrificial idea was of the vaguest and least significant character. The remainder of the offerings were sacrifices to the gods, which, after having been slain and otherwise prepared, according to the necessities of the case, but with no ceremony of substitution, or of the use of the blood, were presented, before the god, sometimes held in the hand, usually heaped upon offering tables, less frequently placed upon the altar. How long they were permitted to remain or what was done with them thereafter, nothing is positively known, except that some offerings for the dead were not removed at all. They were not burned; there was no true sacrificial meal (c.f. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, p. 122; also E. Lefabure, *Rites Egyptiens*); presumably they were removed in time to prevent their loss.

III. The bearings of these facts upon theological and critical questions. The bearings of these facts upon theological and critical questions are so apparent that a few words will suffice to point them out. Supplies for the dead testify to the expectation of the life after death, and the character of the supplies for both the dead and the gods evinces the crude and materialistic ideas the Egyptians entertained of life in the other world, as was shown in the fifth lecture. As there was no proper substitution of the victim for the offerer, there was, like-

wise, in their religious views, no idea of satisfaction for sin through the sacrifices, as is clearly corroborated by the Book of the Dead, where the hope of becoming the "justified" is grounded constantly upon good works, and never upon the sacrifices which have been offered. As there was no burning of the sacrifice, the idea of complete dedication of the offerer through the offering, which is expressed by the burning, was wanting in Egyptian theology. And since there was no proper sacrificial meal, there was equally wanting to the Egyptian sacrificial worship the idea of fellowship with the Divine. Thus the four great ideas of the Mosaic ritual, substitution, redemption by blood, dedication and fellowship, are entirely wanting in Egyptian sacrifice.

When we turn to critical questions concerning the sources of the Hebrew sacrificial system, the vast and essential element of revelation in that system shines out the moment we see Moses, the lawgiver, standing in the presence of the Egyptian sacrificial ceremonies. The materials of sacrifice were about the same, almost the only materials available; but not a single one of the great underlying ideas of the Hebrew system of sacrifice is found in the Egyptian system. The only apparent exception, the shedding of blood, is only apparently an exception; for, while the shedding of blood and the sprinkling of blood were so important and so conspicuous in the Hebrew system, in the Egyptian sacrifices the shedding of the blood seems to have been only an incident in the preparation, and little or no account

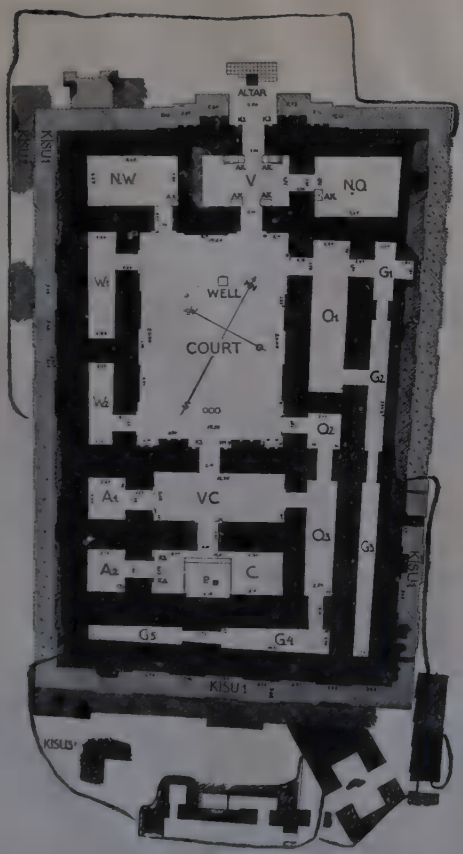
whatever was taken of the blood. In the presence of the great truths of the Mosaic sacrifices, we are *face to face with GOD*.

We have now in this course of lectures stood in the full blaze of the present light from archaeology on Pentateuchal times. The first five lectures clearly identify Pentateuchal times as Egyptian times and Mosaic times. The testimony of peculiar words, phrases and narratives, the Egyptian affinity of general literary characteristics, the contacts of history, the significant things of art and architecture and the peculiar vagueness of Pentateuchal eschatology not only all unite in a remarkable harmony with the manners and customs, the history and civilization of those times, but incidental peculiarities, entirely beyond the possibility of collusion, point definitely to the Exodus and wilderness period as the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, thus definitely witnessing to the date of the composition of the Pentateuch as well as to the circumstances which surrounded the composition.

On the other hand, the evidence brought forward in the sixth lecture points definitely to Pentateuchal times, not as times of the culmination of mere natural development, nor the piecing together of fragmentary materials, but as times truly, indeed, of much religious development, but, also, as times of large objective revelation, the times of the giving of "all this wonderful law."

Some reply may be attempted to the testimony of these various words, phrases, and historical con-

tacts and allusions, and marks of literature and civilization *individually*, on the ground that these things may have been written in some old documents, and have been available for the use of late writers. Such argumentation in detail presents a good deal of plausibility; but the *en semble* of these various evidences, their wide distribution, and the perfect accuracy of them everywhere will not admit of any explanation that comes from examination of the details. If all this harmony is brought about merely by supervision, there is manifest a supervision *that runs all the way through*, over many centuries and widely separated lands. Such supervision could have been nothing less than divine. Such a conception of the activity of God in foisting a fictitious "revelation" upon the world is inconceivable. The only alternative explanation, on the one hand, of these *prima facia* evidences of Egyptian provenance in externals, and, on the other hand, of the divine objective revelation in essential truths of the Mosaic system, is that they both are historical, that Pentateuchal times were Mosaic times under Egyptian influences and also times of objective revelation.



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THE GODDESS NINMAKH IN BABYLON

(Jastrow: *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria.* Lippincott and Company)

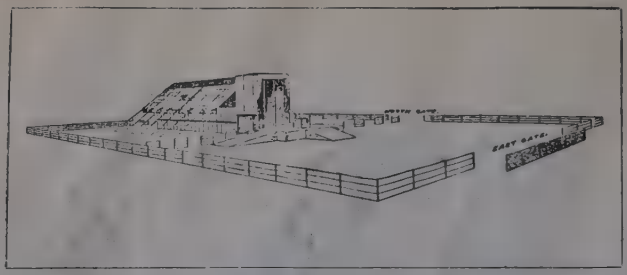


FIG. 1. THE TABERNACLE

(Caldecott: *The Tabernacle.* American Sunday School Union)

FIG. 2. RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE GOD NINIB IN BABYLON

(Jastrow: *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria.* Lippincott and Company)

FIG. 1. EGYPTIAN COUNTRY HOUSE

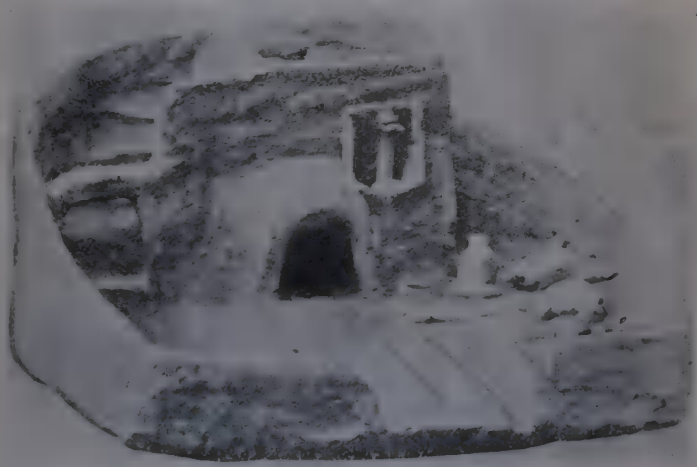
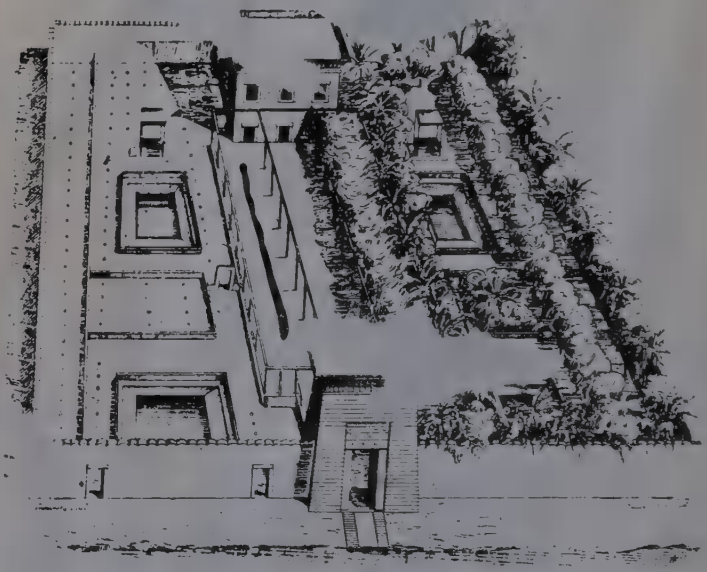


FIG. 2. EGYPTIAN SOUL HOUSE

(Petrie: From XI Dynasty Tombs)

PLATE IV



RESTORATION OF EGYPTIAN PALACE

(Maspero: *L'Archaeologie Egyptienne*)

FIG 1. VIEW OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLE AT EDFU FROM THE GREAT PYLON

(Maspero: *L'Archaeologie Egyptienne*)

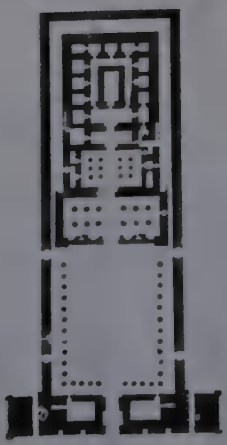


FIG 2. TYPICAL GROUND-PLAN OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLE

(Maspero: *L'Archaeologie Egyptienne*)

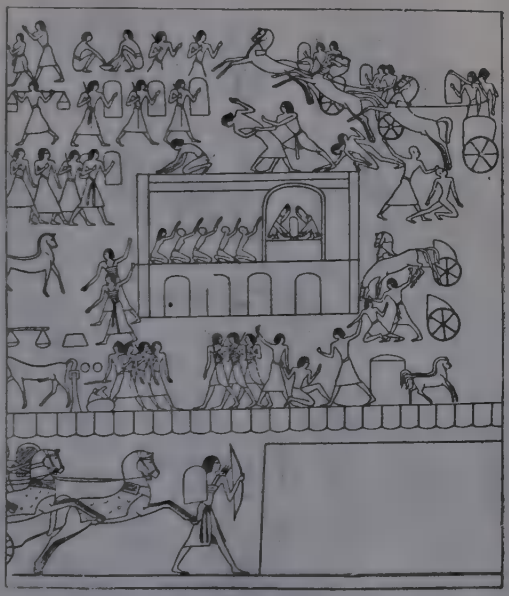
PLATE VI

FIG. 1. PORTABLE EGYPTIAN SHRINE OR "ARK"

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG 2. EGYPTIAN PECTORAL OR "BREASTPLATE"

(Budge: *History of Egypt*. Keagan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Ltd.)



OVERSHADOWING OF WINGS IN EGYPTIAN SYMBOLISM

(Budge: *History of Egypt.* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd.)

PLATE VIII

EGYPTIAN GODS AND GODDESSES FROM CORREDOR WALL AT TEMPLE OF EDFU

(Courtesy: *Ancient Egypt*)

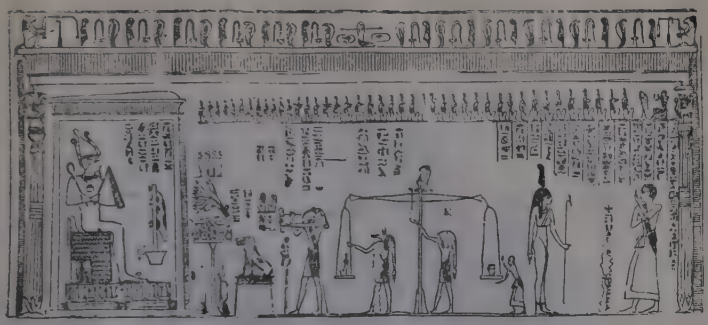


FIG. 1. JUDGMENT SCENE FROM EGYPTIAN TEMPLE

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

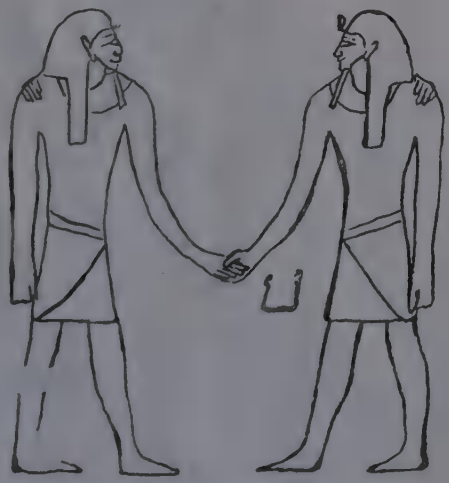


FIG. 2. THOTHMES III OF EGYPT CLASPING HANDS WITH HIS KA, HIS "OTHER WORLD SELF"

PLATE X

RAMESES THE GREAT, PHARAOH OF THE OPPRESSION

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

.REMPTAH, THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 1. EGYPTIAN FUNERAL PROCESSION

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 2. SUPPLIES FOR THE DEAD FOUND IN AN EGYPTIAN TOMB

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 1. PROCESSION BRINGING SUPPLIES FOR THE EGYPTIAN DEAD

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 2. PREPARATION OF SUPPLIES FOR THE DEAD PICTURED IN AN EGYPTIAN TOMB

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 1. FURNITURE, WEAPONS, JEWELRY AND OTHER ARTICLES PLACED IN AN EGYPTIAN TOMB

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 2. SERVANTS PICTURED AT WORK FOR THE EGYPTIAN DEAD

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 1. PROCESSION BRINGING SUPPLIES TO AN EGYPTIAN TOMB

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

FIG. 2. SYMBOLICAL FIGURES BEARING SUPPLIES FOR THE EGYPTIAN DEAD

(Cobern: *Ancient Egypt*)

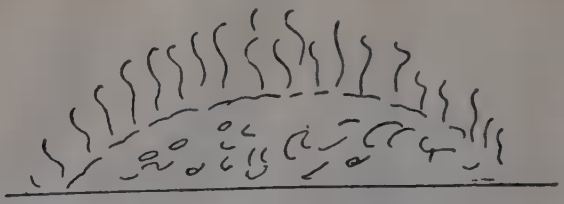


FIG. 1. EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATION OF FIRE WITH COALS

FIG. 2. EGYPTIAN OFFERING SCENE WITH FIRE

(Tomb 92, Sheik abt el Gourna)

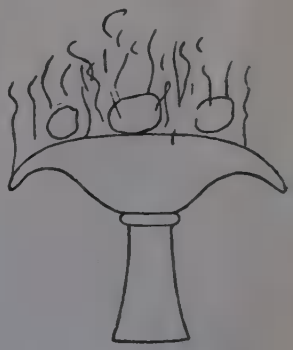


FIG. 3. EGYPTIAN OFFERING SCENE WITH FIRE

(Tomb 77, Sheik abt el Gourna)

FIG. 4. OFFERING SCENE FROM TOMB OF SETAU, EL-KAB

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